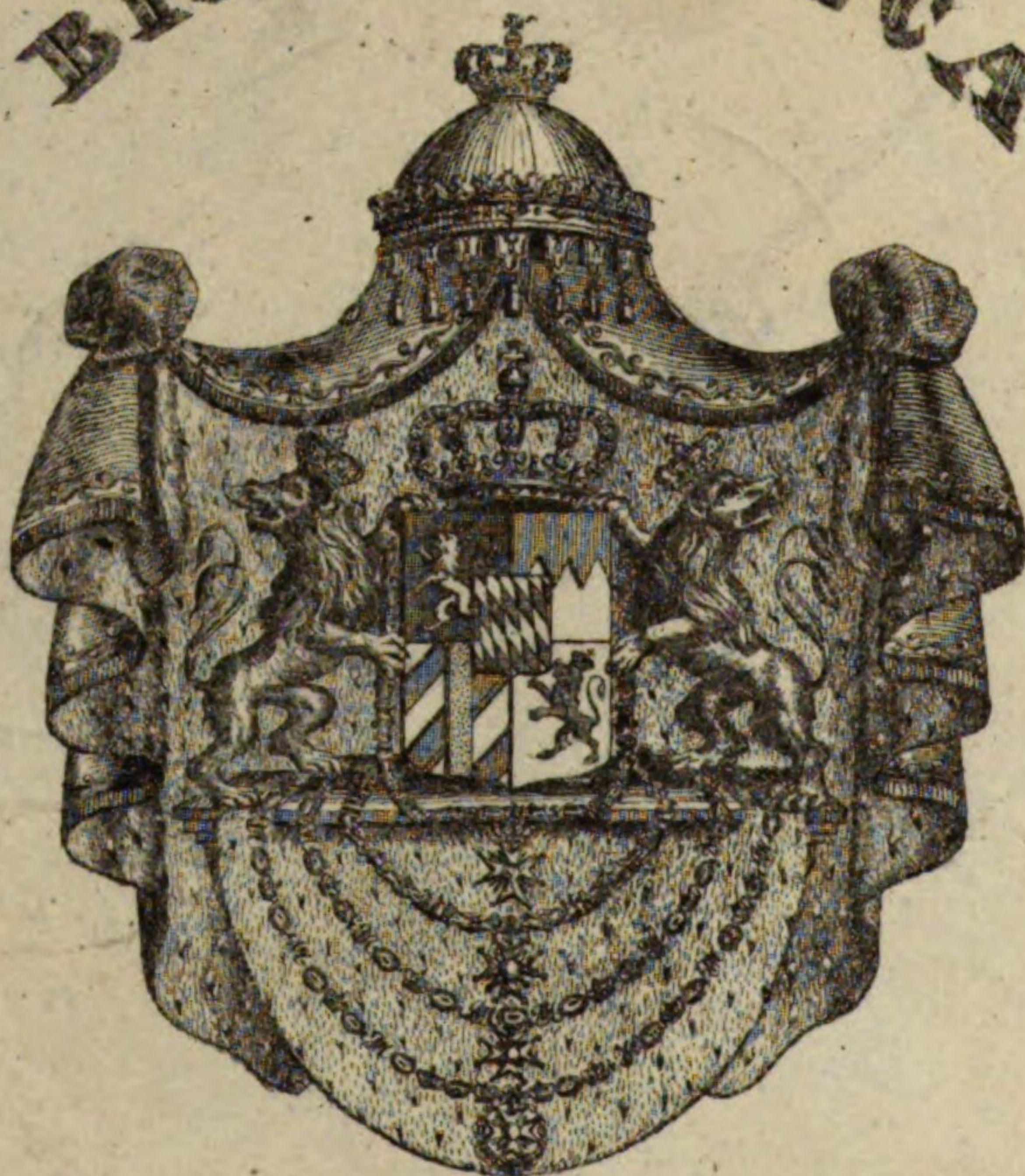


Brit
1106-2

G. Chalmers

BIBLIOTHECA



REGIA
MONACHENSIS.

Brit. MO 6-2

<36626254090017

<36626254090017

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek



London, Dec^r, 1821, Published by J. Murray, Albemarle Street.

THE
L I F E
OF
MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS,

DRAWN FROM THE STATE PAPERS.

WITH
SUBSIDIARY MEMOIRS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH
PLATES OF MEDALS, PORTRAITS, AND PROSPECTS.

BY GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S. S.A.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED.
IN THREE VOLUMES.

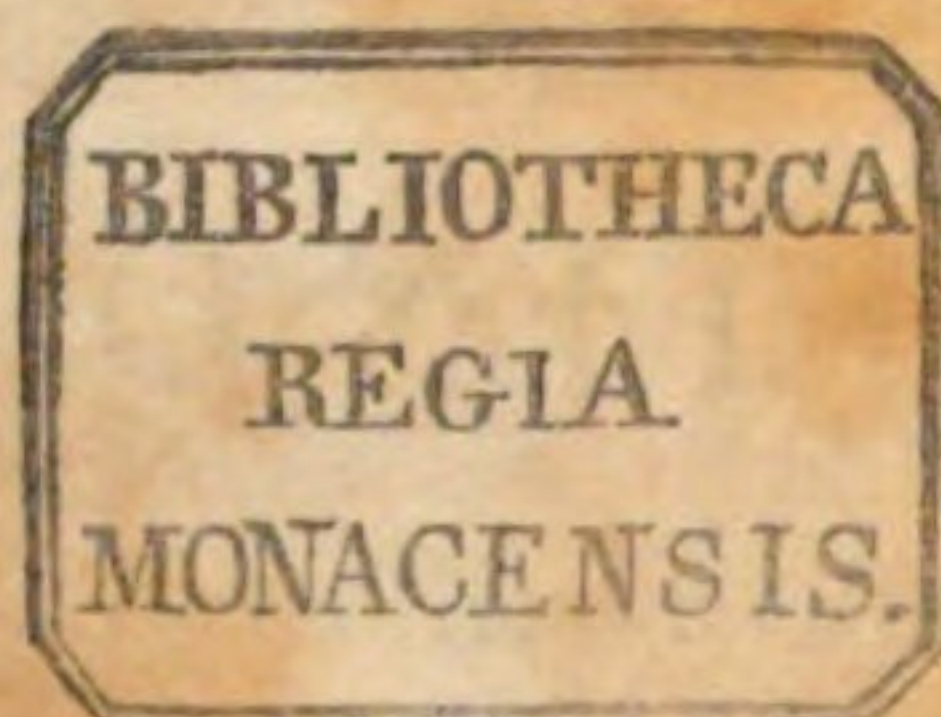
VOL. II.



LONDON :

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1822.



Veritas occultari ad tempus potest : vinci non potest.

D. AUGUSTINUS

Printed by W. Nicol, Successor to W. Bulmer & Co.
Cleveland-row, St. James's.

CONTENTS.

SECTION XII.

From the End of Elizabeth's Enquiry, till Mary's Removal to Sheffield	- - -	page 1
---	-------	--------

SECTION XIII.

From the Queen's Arrival at Sheffield, till the Death of Norfolk	- - -	23
--	-------	----

SECTION XIV.

From the Death of Norfolk, till the Queen's Attainder		40
---	--	----

SECTION XV.

From the Queen's Attainder, till Morton's Execution		60
---	--	----

SECTION XVI.

From Morton's Execution, till King James's Escape from Ruthven	- - -	95
--	-------	----

SECTION XVII.

From King James's Escape from Ruthven, till Mary's Removal to Tutbury	- - -	13
---	-------	----

SECTION XVIII.

From Mary's Removal to Tutbury, till her Removal to Fotheringay	- - -	138
---	-------	-----

SECTION XIX.

From Mary's Removal to Fotheringay, till her Death		162
--	--	-----

MEMOIRS.

I. Of the Calumnies concerning Mary Steuart, from her Cradle to her Grave	- - -	261
II. Memoir of Francis II.	- - -	455
III. Memoir of Henry Steuart, Lord Darnley, second Husband of the Scottish Queen	- - -	463

CONTENTS

SECTION III

From the End of Lincoln's Speech, Feb. 27, 1859
to the End of the Session

SECTION XII

From the Opening of the Session, Feb. 27, 1859
to the End of the Session

SECTION XIII

From the Opening of the Session, Feb. 27, 1859
to the End of the Session

SECTION XIV

From the Opening of the Session, Feb. 27, 1859
to the End of the Session

SECTION XV

From the Opening of the Session, Feb. 27, 1859
to the End of the Session

SECTION XVI

From the Opening of the Session, Feb. 27, 1859
to the End of the Session

SECTION XVII

From the Opening of the Session, Feb. 27, 1859
to the End of the Session

SECTION XVIII

From the Opening of the Session, Feb. 27, 1859
to the End of the Session

SECTION XIX

From the Opening of the Session, Feb. 27, 1859
to the End of the Session

- I. Of the Principles of the Constitution, 1859
- II. History of the Constitution, 1859
- III. History of the Constitution, 1859
- IV. History of the Constitution, 1859

THE
L I F E
OF
Mary, Queen of Scots.

SECTION XII.

*From the End of Elizabeth's Enquiry, till Mary's
Removal to Sheffield.*

AT the close of that enquiry we have seen, who were the persons guilty of the murder of Darnley. Elizabeth would not receive her relation, the Queen of Scots, to her presence; because it was *reported*, that she was privy to the murder of her husband. Elizabeth, however, received Murray, and his associates, though they were known to be murderers; because they were useful to her, in the great project of disgracing the Scottish Queen, by calumny. Murray was rewarded, for his criminations, and his forgeries; and was sent to Scotland, that he might govern it, in subservience to Elizabeth's will. It was, at the same time, de-

terminated, to remove the Scottish Queen, from Bolton castle, to Tutbury, without avowing the principle of law, or of morals, on which she was to be detained a prisoner, for life, after being copiously calumniated.

It was as much, perhaps, the apprehension of the escape of the Queen of Scots, as the frequent, and strong remonstrances of Knollys, her warden, that induced Elizabeth, to bring her hated rival more into the interior of the kingdom: He often represented, “that unless it
“was determined to keep the Scottish Queen a
“prisoner, and debar her, from riding, *which*
“*would be death to her*, they could no longer
“remain at Bolton, for want of forage, and pro-
“visions.”^k

^k Knollys's letter to Cecil, in the Paper Office, 2d November 1568. He often repeated those circumstances, during this, and the subsequent month: Yet, the Scottish Queen, even after she was joined, by Lady Livingston, employed only a dozen horse. Knollys proposed to pay a dozen light horsemen, *armed with pistols*, to ride out with the Queen, and her ladies: So the light horsemen were to fire upon the Queen, and her ladies, if they should take a gallop: Yet, where could the Scottish Queen flee to? In every part of England, and of Scotland, she would have been arrested. If any of those light horsemen had killed any of the ladies, what would have been his punishment, and where was the responsibility?

Without money, and the proper means of transport, they departed, from Bolton castle, something against the Queen's will, on the 26th of January 1568-9 ; and arrived at Lord Shrewsbury's castle of Tutbury, upon the Dove, in Staffordshire, on the 3d of February 1568-9.¹ During that inclement season, the Queen, and her family, could not have been removed, if the Bishop of Durham had not lent Knollys sixteen horses. Lady Livingston was taken ill, on the road, at Rotherham, and was left there ; and on their journey to Chesterfield, the Queen fell ill, with her usual pain, in her side, and she complained of her head : so that the cavalcade was obliged to remain, at Mr. Foljam's house, near Chesterfield, where they had good accommodations.^m

In that removal, the Queen's journey lay through Wetherby, Pomfret, Sheffield, to Tut-

¹ Cecil's Diary ; Knollys's letter to Cecil, in the Paper Office, 10th Dec. 1568. The hangings, and bedding, at Bolton castle, had been lent, by Sir George Bowes, says Knollys, without which they had experienced much inconvenience. Elizabeth, having no heart, never troubled herself, about such considerations : When she ordered her good cousin into some uninhabited castle, she gave herself very little more trouble, about the accommodation.

^m Knollys's letters, 1st Feb. 1568-9 to the Privy Council, in the Paper Office.

bury. When they arrived, at Wetherby, Knollys received a letter from Elizabeth; charging Mary with writing a scandalous letter into Scotland; reflecting on her good sister. Mary utterly denied having written such a letter: But, acknowledged, that she had ordered certain things, against the practices of Murray. Such a violent epistle of crimination, from Queen Elizabeth, was, probably, intended, according to her usual policy, to facilitate the removal of Mary.

The resolutions of Elizabeth against Mary, entailed upon herself many a year of misery; so much was her heart torn, by the uneasy passions of envy, hatred, and jealousy; that Elizabeth was induced even to employ Lady Shrewsbury, to watch over the conduct of her own husband, in his usual intercourse with the Scottish Queen. At the end of March 1568-9, the Queen of Scots, was, here, visited, by her two commissioners, the Bishop of Ross, and Lord Boyd; after being detained, from the suggestion of Murray, though under such pretexts, as Cecil could easily find.

It was partly owing to those passions of Elizabeth, but still more to another principle, which she avowed, in one of her letters, *that the Queen of Scots' head should never rest*, that Mary was removed, in April, to Winkfield, in

Derbyshire.ⁿ Winkfield, says Camden, was a very great, and goodly manour, where Ralph, Lord Cromwell, in the reign of Henry VI. built a stately house for those days.^o Shrewsbury, whose liberal spirit disposed him to treat a woman, and a Queen, with gentleness, was so harassed, by the guilty passions, and the watchfulness of his wife, that he was thrown into several fits of violent disease.^p The intrigues of the Countess of Shrewsbury were officious, and incessant, with Elizabeth's court: And the Scottish Queen, on the 20th of October 1569, wrote to Secretary Walsingham, from Winkfield; "earnestly requesting him to attach no credit to the schemes, and accusations

ⁿ The Scottish Queen was at Winkfield, on the 22d of April, said Cecil, in his Diary. There was a rumour, continued he, that the Queen of Scots had transferred her right to the English crown to the Duke of Anjou. Cabala, 152. The Queen contradicted this absurdity. Ib. 152-3.

^o Britannia, in Derbyshire.

^p Cecil wrote to Norris, on the 3d of July: "Lord Shrewsbury having been first stricken with a palsy is now stricken, lamentably, with a phrensie. It is likely the Queen of Scots shall remove to Belvoir, in the charge of my Lord Bedford." Cabala, 153. This project, however, did not take place. On the 22d of June, Sir Francis Zouch was appointed to attend the Queen, in the room, or rather aid, of Shrewsbury.

“ of *La Comtesse qui est maintenant avec vous ;*” as she is a mortal enemy to her, and her son ; and has even attempted her life ; the Queen added, she could defend herself against the calumnious reports of the said comtesse, before all the kings, and princes, in christendom.

Meantime, the Duke of Norfolk, owing to whatever intrigue, or whatever folly, fell in love with the Queen of Scots, whom he had never seen : and of whom he had suspected some foul proceedings, though not, by very fair enquiry : These were, no doubt, strong reasons, for any man’s falling in love with any woman. The Duke, unhappily, for his own fortunes, had been deluded by Secretary Maitland, and had placed his trust, in the Earl of Murray, one of the most faithless of mankind. Such an intrigue could not escape the jealousy of Elizabeth : She had even said to the Duke, when he dined, with her, at Farnham, that *he would do well to be careful, on what pillow he laid his head.* He wanted bravery of spirit to tell her the whole story, since she had obtained, from her women, one half of the tale.¹ Norfolk was examined ; as none of the courtiers, who had been entrusted with it, would open the matter to Elizabeth ;

¹ Camden’s Eliz. 127-30.

and Murray, upon the application of Cecil, very readily disclosed what had been communicated to him, in trust. At length Norfolk was committed to the Tower. The Bishop of Ross was soon after examined at Windsor.^r By the late Lord Hardwick, it was supposed that Norfolk, and Mary, were actually married: But, the Scottish Queen was already a married woman: They were only betrothed. The consent of Bothwell, however, for a divorce, had been obtained; and Lord Boyd was sent with it to Scotland; in order to solicit the Parliament, for the dissolution of the Queen's enforced marriage, with that odious ruffian: Yet, those, who had professed so much zeal against Bothwell's marriage with the widowed Queen, refused their assent to its dissolution.^s

Meantime, Leonard Dacres, one of the wildest of men, in co-operation with the Earl of

^r Cecil's Diary. While those examinations were going on, Elizabeth ordered Shrewsbury to search the Queen of Scots' coffers, for letters: But, he found none. There are some letters from her, about that time, to the Duke of Norfolk, which are published, in the Hardwick State Papers, i. 190-1, which are sufficiently warm: She supposed, that Norfolk had more power to help her, than he really had.

^s Cabala, 155. The document, signifying Bothwell's consent to a divorce, remained among Lord Boyd's papers, even down to our own times.

Northumberland, entertained a project of delivering the Scottish Queen, from her unjust imprisonment : But, it was forbidden, by Norfolk, who feared for himself.^t

In consequence of the rumour of such a purpose, the Queen of Scots was removed, from Winkfield to Tutbury, where she was straitly guarded.^u

In November 1569, broke out the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland, and Westmorland. They are said, by Camden, to have aimed at the freedom of the Queen of Scots. But, their first declaration was grounded, on the Catholic religion ; the second, on the want of a law, for settling the succession. The Scottish Queen is not mentioned ; nor even alluded to, unless the mention of the succession bear such an allusion.^v On the 21st of November, the rebels even came, as far as Tadcaster, towards Tutbury ;^w

^t Camden's Eliz. 129.

^u Cecil states, in his Diary, on the 29th of September, that the Scottish Queen had returned to Tutbury. He wrote, on the 3d of October 1569, to Norris, at Paris : “ The Queen of Scots is more narrowly watched than before : The Earl of Huntington was joined with the Earl of Shrewsbury, in charge of her safety.” Cabala, 157.

^v See the two Declarations, in Strype's Annals.

^w Cecil asserts so, in his Diary.

And Huntingdon, and Hertford, came there to assist Shrewsbury, in the difficult charge of the Scottish Queen: But, on the 25th they brought her to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and on the morrow, to Coventry.^x There remains a letter, from Lord Huntingdon to Secretary Cecil, from Coventry, on the 28th of November 1569; requesting to know the Queen's immediate pleasure, where the Scottish Queen is to remain, as she is, at present, at an inn, where is no accommodation: They had endeavoured to get another house, but could not, for want of furniture; and the Earl of Shrewsbury, his companion, in this trust, will not send for any, till he knows the Queen's pleasure. That inconsiderate insurrection was crushed before christmas; when the chiefs fled into Scotland, where they were not safe.^y On the 2d of January 1569-70, the Queen of Scots was carried back, from Coventry to Tutbury, when the country was free, from insurrection, though not free from tyranny.^z The rebellion, in England, was, scarcely suppressed, when the Regent Murray

^x Cecil's Diary; Cabala, 158; Sadler's State Letters, ii 40.

^y Ib. 159-60. Northumberland was afterwards surrendered, by Morton; and, being brought to York, was there executed:

^z There is, in Haynes, 511, a letter, from the wellknown

laboured, earnestly, that the Queen of Scots might be delivered into his hands; offering hostages; and engaging to deliver the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who were now in his power. Meantime, he so intrigued,

Nicolas White to Secretary Cecil, on the 26th of February 1569; giving a very amusing account of the Scottish Queen:

“ If I might give advice, there should very few subjects of
 “ this land have access to, or conference with, this lady:
 “ For, beside, that she is a goodly personage, (and yet in
 “ truth, *not comparable to our sovereign*) she hath withal, an
 “ alluring grace, a pretty Scotch speech, and a searching wit,
 “ clouded with mildness. The greatest person about her is
 “ the Lord Livingston, and the Lady, his wife, which is a
 “ fair gentlewoman. She hath nine women more; fifty per-
 “ sons in household, with ten horses. The Bishop of Ross
 “ then lay, three miles off, in Burton upon Trent, with Lord
 “ Boyd. Lord Shrewsbury is very watchful of his charge:
 “ But, the Queen overwatches them all; for it is one of the
 “ clock, at least, every night, ere she go to bed. I asked
 “ her grace, since the weather did cut off all exercises abroad,
 “ how she passed the time within? She said, that all the
 “ day, she wrought with her needle, and that the diversity
 “ of the colours made the work seem less tedious; and she
 “ continued so long till even pain made her give over; and
 “ with that laid her hand upon her left side, and complained
 “ of an old grief, newly increased there. Upon this, she
 “ entered upon a pretty disputable comparison between car-
 “ ving, painting, and working with the needle; affirming
 “ *painting*, in her own opinion, for the most commendable
 “ quality.”

that the Bishop of Ross, *as author of the rebellion*, was committed, in ward, to the Bishop of London. Such accusations are easily made, but not so easily proved.

But, the time was come, when the restless ambition of Murray was to have a disastrous end. On the 22d of January 1569-70, was the Regent Murray shot, in the streets of Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, for persecuting his wife to distraction, an injury, which, according to the husband's irritated feelings, nothing could satisfy, but a stroke of death : So far did resentment carry men, during such a state of anarchy.^z The Queen is said to have shed tears, when she heard of the sad catastrophe of Murray : But, they ought to have been tears of joy, rather than of sorrow ; as he was, undoubtedly, the principal murderer of her husband, and his ambition had effected her ruin, and had involved her kingdom, in the usual miseries of civil war.

There remains a letter from Mary to Elizabeth,^a at a somewhat later period ; complaining

^z The subsequent history of Hamilton is obscure : But, he found a quiet grave, in the churchyard of Crossby, near Ayr, 1619.

^a The above letter, dated 14th March 1569-70, is in Strype's Annals, i. App. 161.

of all her grievances, and sufferings, which is written with more freedom, and vigour, than Elizabeth was used to, or could relish, from her good cousin, whom she idly supposed, to be so inferior to herself, at least, in her own conceit. About that time arrived, at the court of England, Montlovet, an ambassador from France, to solicit the liberty, and restoration of the Scottish Queen : and this envoy, and the French ambassador, had an audience of Elizabeth, who, in the presence of her council, expressly refused their requests, either to release Mary, to see her, or to allow either of them to go into Scotland.^b The Scottish Queen seemed thus to be considered, as something worse than a state prisoner, to be a criminal, for some offence against the English law. We have already seen, how absurdly, Cecil wrote, when he attempted to justify, by argument, the Queen of Scots' imprisonment : He now supposed, that an inconvenience to England, *without an injury*, was a legitimate cause of war, or of forcible detention of a neighbouring sovereign. Such was the cant of all those, who had been bred, in Cecil's school : How contrary to the law of nations,

^b Cabala, 161.

^c Strype's Ann. i. 838-9.

such a notion, and practice, are, needs not be repeated.

Shrewsbury, meanwhile, did not sit easy under the vexations, and charges of keeping the Queen of Scots; and he claimed, from Cecil, some indemnity, particularly, as the Queen's baths of wine, for the pain in her side, were very expensive to him :^c But, it appears not, that he received either compensation, or thanks; so sordid, and at the same time, so oppressive, was the domination of Elizabeth!

The death of Murray made a great impression upon Elizabeth; having lost so subservient an agent. She prepared to avenge it, and to supply his place.^d She sent the notorious Randolph, to intrigue, at Edinburgh. She committed the Bishop of Ross a prisoner to the Bishop of London. Sussex, as lieutenant-general of the

^c Strype's Ann. i. 538-9.

^d See her declaration of war against the notorious outlaws, thieves, enemies, and peacebreakers of Scotland, dated the 10th of April 1570, from Hampton-court. Strype's Ann. i. 573-5. So the Duke, Argyle, Huntley, and other nobles, were the outlaws, thieves, and peacebreakers of Scotland. What a woman was Elizabeth! She meant to revenge the death of Murray, by laying waste the lands, and houses, of the greatest men, in Scotland; and she declared war against *outlaws*, thieves, and peacebreakers: But, against those she had no right to make war, within Scotland.

north, was dispatched, to assume the command of an army, which was to chastise, and overawe Scotland. He entered Teviotdale, on the 14th of April, and laid waste the country. He did infinite mischief, in a very short time; his army returning, on the 22d of the same month.^e Lord Scroope made a similar inroad on the western border, with equal success, and equal damage.^f Elizabeth not only made formal war on Scotland, in order to frighten the people into obedience to her dictates, but, she prevented any justification of the Scottish Queen, before the public, from the charges, and calumnies, which had been so abundantly cast upon her, by the undoubted murderers of her husband, under the eye of Elizabeth.^g

Yet, the conscience of the English Queen, was not altogether settled, whatever Cecil might think, what was fittest to be done, with regard to the Queen of Scots. A consultation

^e Cabala, 163.

^f Ib. 164-5.

^g In Cecil's letter to Norris of the 4th of May 1570, he says, the Bishop of Ross's Defence of the Queen of Scots was discovered, and stopped at the press, before eight leaves, had been printed. Cabala, 162. Cecil, also, intimates, that Secretary Maitland had joined the Queen's party, in Scotland.

was held, on the 7th of May ; to come to some end, regarding the Scottish Queen.^h How such a consultation would end, may easily be conceived. Cecil, soon after, wrote to the ambassador Norris ; “ By your letters of late time, “ it hath seemed, that your opinion was, for “ the Queen’s majesty, to be delivered of the “ Scottish Queen ; but, surely, few here among “ us conceive it feasible, with surety.”ⁱ This supplies an additional instance, of Cecil’s practice, of deluding the English ambassadors, at Paris, by his delusive style of writing, for imposing on the French court. In various dispatches to Norris, Cecil expressed himself, as if Elizabeth, and her ministers, wished, to free themselves of the Scottish Queen ; but, that the states of Scotland would not restore her : yet, Norris not perceiving this artifice, which had been thrown out, to delude the French ministers, was himself deluded, and expressed an opinion, which was not relished, by Cecil, though it led to the true policy.

But, the whole policy of Cecil consisted in deception. He soon after sent the Bishop of Ross to propose to his mistress the appointment of new commissioners ; to treat of her causes,

^h Strype.

ⁱ Letter of the 23d May 1570, Cabala, 165.

and to put an end to hostilities, on both sides.^k

A warlike expedition was, at the same time, meditated against the Hamiltons' estates, in the western shires of Scotland. Drury, the marshal of Berwick, marched thence, with 1000 foot, and 400 horse; and laid waste the houses, and lands of the Hamiltons; as that family had discovered, when too late, their true interest to have consisted, in supporting the Queen, and the law.^l

In Scotland, the church assembly, as was to be expected, declared, for the King; whose party, after the death of Murray, could hardly support itself against the Queen's friends. The warfare, and devastation of Elizabeth, were intended to give a decided superiority to the King's interests, and her own. She had early sent down the Earl of Lennox, who had few friends; but was chosen Regent, on the 17th of July, with Morton, for his lieutenant. Such were the legacies, which Murray's ambition left to the Scottish people, for their infatuation.

^k Cabala, 165.

^l Cabala, 166. Cecil, with joy, conveyed this news to Norris, for the information of the French court. Id. The Earl of Southampton was, about the same time, imprisoned, "for speaking with the Bishop of Ross." Id. Such were the golden days of Elizabeth!

Meanwhile, the Scottish Queen was, more and more, deprived of her personal liberty. At the end of July 1570, the Bishop of Ross complained to Elizabeth, "that his mistress was "not permitted to take the air abroad:" And she wrote to Shrewsbury, on the 4th of August, "that in the earl's company, the Queen of "Scots might ride, and take the air, for her "health."^m She seems, soon after, to have been removed to Chatsworth; a fair, and stately house, saith Camden, which Sir William Cavendish, descended out of that ancient house of Gernon, in Suffolk, began; and which his wife, Elizabeth, and after Countess of Shrewsbury, hath, of late, with great charges, fully finished: It has since been rebuilt much more splendidly, in modern architecture.

But, nothing could allay the jealousy of Elizabeth, as to the Scottish Queen, and her escape. She had been credibly informed, said she to Shrewsbury, of a purpose to attempt the deliverance of the Queen of Scots: Though she be restrained of her late liberty of hawking, and hunting; yet, this will serve little purpose, if the gentlemen of that country have daily access to her, which she desires may be pre-

^m Haynes, 601.

vented: And, in case, she added, you should think, that you cannot safely keep her, in Chatsworth, we then put it to your choice to carry her to Tutbury.^a We thus see what misery the guilty passions of Elizabeth inflicted on a respectable noble; on a Queen, whom she imprisoned, and oppressed, against every law, human, and divine: The purposed escape of the Queen of Scots was idly supposed, in opposition to the plainest impossibility. Shrewsbury found no difficulty, in keeping her very safely, for some months longer, in Chatsworth, which has been long the splendid residence of patriot men, and elegant women. The diseased mind of Elizabeth seems to have supposed, that the safety of the world depended on the Queen, whom she hated; that the Scottish Queen was one of the *weird sisters*, who could raise a storm, without notice, at any hour of the day, or moment of the night.

Elizabeth's next intimation to the harassed Shrewsbury was of the appointment of Cecil, the Secretary, and Mildmay, the chancellor of the exchequer, as negotiators with the Scottish Queen.^o Those able men arrived, at Chats-

^a From a draught of Elizabeth's above letter to Salisbury, in Haynes, 606-7.

^o Haynes, 608.

worth, on the 1st of October 1570, to treat with the captive Queen, who was now to rely on her own address for the success of a treaty, which, owing to Elizabeth's jealousy, must end in disappointment.^p What treaty could be made with such a Queen, as Mary, under her circumstances!

From Elizabeth's letter of credence to Shrewsbury, we may perceive what was the avowed object of such a mission of such men: When of long time, said she, the Queen of Scots, by sundry means, had made general offers to us, to satisfy, and accord with us, for the differences, arising between us, upon *her former attempts*.^q The attempts of Mary on Elizabeth were not explained; the attempts of Elizabeth on Mary would form a pretty long list: So, to settle those *attempts*, here is a negotiation proposed, with an imprisoned Queen, by two of the ablest, and artfullest men, in England. As far as we can suppose, that any thing serious was intended, it is curious to observe, the

^p See an account of it in Camden's Eliz. 149-51.

^q The former attempts above alluded to were Mary's assumption, when Dauphiness, of the titles of England, which, when she became a widow, she disavowed, in the plainest manner: So that such *attempts* were, as if they had never been.

Scotish Queen was not deficient, in acuteness, and ability, to treat with such men. Cecil begins with the treaty of Edinburgh, which was always uppermost, in his head ; and which, among plain men, and plain women, did not admit of any discussion ; as the Scotish Queen did not claim the English crown, during Elizabeth's life, or the existence of her *leeful yssue*.^r It is unnecessary to proceed any further, in noticing a treaty, which could not possibly have any result : Morton, who came from Scotland, to attend some negotiation, asserted, that he had no authority to adopt such a treaty.^s Elizabeth concurred in this disavowal ; and of course, suspended the operations of such a negotiation : so did she write to Shrewsbury ; and enjoined him to take special care of his charge, that she did not escape.^t Elizabeth's jealousy of the Queen of Scots' escape amounted to frenzy : Where could she escape to ; or what could she hope, from her escape ? If the

^r We know, from Camden, and the Statute Book, that Elizabeth had it enacted, that the crown should be worn, after her death, by her *natural issue*.

^s Haynes, 623.

^t Ib. 624. At the Bishop of Ross's request, his mistress was allowed, to take the air on horseback, a short way, well guarded. [Lodge's Illustrations, ii. 49-50.]

Scotish Queen had been restored to her kingdom, under such a treaty, she could not have retained her station, during a month, without some plot, for her imprisonment, or expulsion.

In the meanwhile, the Scotish Queen was removed, on the 28th of November 1570, from Chatsworth to Sheffield; “a town,” saith Camden, “of great renown, for *the smiths* therein; “fortified with a strong and ancient castle, “which in right line descended, from the “Lords Furnival, unto the Talbots, earls of “Shrewsbury.”^u It was, in this strong, and ancient castle, no doubt, that the Scotish Queen, with her disconsolate retinue, were lodged.^v We may, incidentally, perceive, that Tutbury, Chatsworth, and Sheffield, were all castles of Shrewsbury; and only wonder, that such a noble should suffer himself to be so long harassed, under such a charge, by Elizabeth’s guilty passions!

At this period of the Scotish Queen’s life, her real attendants seem to have been but few. Lord, and Lady Livingston, appear to have been the two principal persons about her. She

^u Britannia. Yorkshire.

^v Yes: But, that castle has since completely disappeared; and nothing remains now, but the old summer house, which then stood, in the garden.

seems to have had five bed-chamber women, and dressers. Mr. Castel was her physician; and Roulet, her secretary; but she appears not to have had any chaplain. The others were chiefly menials: But above all, there was, with her, William Douglas, the boy, who had so greatly contributed, to her liberation, from Lochleven castle, by his secrecy, and address.*

* There is in Lodge's Illustrations, ii. 52, a formal list of the Scottish Queen's attendants; as it was certified, by Lord Shrewsbury. On the 14th of May 1571, Shrewsbury informed Cecil, that he had, with great difficulty, reduced the Scottish Queen's attendants to 30; but, that she had intreated him, with tears in her eyes, to allow nine more to remain. The original is in the Paper Office.

British Museum, Yorkshire
 Yes: But that castle has since completely disappeared; and nothing remains now, but the old summer house, which then stood, in the garden.

SECTION XIII.

From the Queen's Arrival at Sheffield, till the Death of Norfolk.

THE Scottish Queen was, at length, in November 1570, settled, in Sheffield castle, under Shrewsbury's charge, where she remained, during a long sojourn. The times were full of dire suspicions, and privy conspiracies. A civil war had, for some time, raged, in Scotland, between the parties of the King, and Queen. A thousand projects were entertained, abroad, how to relieve the Scottish Queen, from an imprisonment, which was deemed unjust, in its principle, and barbarous, in its practice. Much of the disquiet of Elizabeth, and the difficulties of Cecil, were supposed to be owing to that hated princess: Yet, had they a very simple, and effectual remedy, at hand; by sending a passport to the Scottish Queen, enabling her to quit this island; and desiring her never to return: But, so obvious a measure would have taken from Elizabeth the pleasure of vexing a detested rival; and it would have deprived Cecil of his great delight, in difficulties, and

hazards, wherein he displayed his ability, and address, in disappointing every intrigue, and in “ unravelling all those dark designs, and this “ mystery of state.”

The simplicity, not to say the folly, of the Duke of Norfolk, in supposing, that he could marry the Scottish Queen, who was already married, without the knowledge of Elizabeth, and even in opposition to so vigilant an administration, involved himself, in ruin, and the Queen of Scots, in misery. The Bishop of Ross, who was, perhaps, too busy, was restrained of his liberty.* The Queen, also, was involved, in the intrigues of Rudolphi, a Florentine merchant, and agent of Rome, even after Pius V. had attempted to deprive Elizabeth^y of her crown.

* This event was communicated to Mary, who was assured, that the bishop was not deprived of his liberty, for any acts done, in her service. The Queen of Scots was grieved at this news; but, said, “ she looked for some “ quarrel to the bishop, for her sake.” [Letters in the Paper Office.]

^y The Scottish Queen, being questioned about Rudolphi, denied having written to, or received any letters from a man named Rudolphi; on being asked, whether she had written to the Pope, or any other foreign prince; she said, she had written to all foreign princes, her friends, for aid against her rebels; but not against her majesty, or her realm; yet, would she not specify to whom; saying,

The commissions of the King, and Queen of Scots, early, in 1571, gave full employment to the ministers of Elizabeth. They were on both sides sufficiently pertinacious: or, perhaps, it was impossible to reduce their several pretensions to any fair result. Elizabeth still retained her scruples, concerning the Scottish King's title, and government; while she acknowledged the unworthiness of the Queen to rule such a country, if all had been true, which Murray, the usurper, pretended. Morton, the murderer, indeed, assumed, from the dogmas of Calvin, that the nobles of any number might set aside their kings, at any time, on any pretence. With such argumentation, from so guilty a character, Elizabeth was not much gratified.^z But, still, she found much danger, either in releasing, or retaining the Scottish Queen; whose friends, abroad, began to speak very proudly for her.^a None of the statesmen of that age could per-

that no man had a right to question her on that subject. [Shrewsbury to Burghley, 18th May 1571, in the Paper Office.]

^z Morton's memorial, Elizabeth read: but not without indignation; and as a libel, written in reproach of kings, condemned, though she *dissembled* with the Scottish commissioners.

^a Leicester's letter to Walsingham, 26th March, 1570-1. [Digges, 51.]

ceive, that in desiring the Scottish Queen, to quit the kingdom for ever, there was no danger. So great a change has since taken place, in the manner of thinking, and of acting, among statesmen, that many of the apprehensions, and reasonings, of those times, savour so much of folly, as to incur some ridicule.^b It was an *inconvenience* to England, that Scotland lay adjacent along her northern frontier: But, was that inconvenience a cause of war? It was an inconvenience to England, that Scotland had a Queen, contemporary with Elizabeth: was that inconvenience a cause of enmity? By Elizabeth's incitements, an all-powerful faction drove the Scottish Queen, to seek for shelter, in England; was that a cause of hostility against the Scottish Queen? Elizabeth imprisoned the Scottish Queen, without a cause, which incited the indignation of the European powers; did that justify the lord keeper Bacon, in saying, that the whole realm of Scotland was not sufficient security, for Elizabeth, and England? It was not good sense, in the lord keeper, Bacon, in the lord treasurer, Burghley, or in that wiser

^b After hearing the commissions, as well, for the Scottish Queen as against her, on the question of her liberty the Lord Keeper Bacon said, "that all the realm of Scotland, the Prince, the noblemen, and castles, are not sufficient, to give security, unto the Queen, and England."

personage, Elizabeth, to reason, from *possibilities*: By *possibility*, England might have been merged, in the ocean, from earthquake: And, what security could be given them? Statesmen can only reason, from *probability*. In the meanwhile, the Scottish Queen, from imprisonment, from want of exercise, and from vexation, became very much indisposed; had fainted three or four times; and her people were much alarmed, about her: But she became somewhat better; and was very anxious to know, how the Bishop of Ross was used, whose imprisonment touched her near; saying, she pitied poor prisoners, for she was used like one herself. On hearing such natural reflections, Shrewsbury advised her “to leave off any practices” she had dealt in, and put her cause into the “Queen’s hands, *as truth sought no covers.*” Poor Shrewsbury! What was this advice, but a repetition of Cecil’s policy, when the Scottish Queen sent her servant, Beaton to London, and Paris, to beg assistance against her persecutors? Why should you go to France, for help, said Cecil, when we can so easily give what you want here? without any purpose of giving any help to the Queen, while he aided her adversaries. The Scottish Queen, however, wrote to Burghley strong letters, in vindication of the bishop; desiring that he might be set at liberty,

and received, as the ambassador of a free princess.^c In the midst of this *insecurity*, Elizabeth, in the presence of such poets, as the world had, scarcely, ever seen before, wrote the following verses on the then state of persons, and affairs:^d

That *doubt* of future foes exiles my present joy ;
And *wit* me warns to shun such snares, as threaten mine
annoy :

For falshood now doth flow, and subjects faith doth ebb,
Which would not be, if reason rul'd, or wisdom weav'd the
webb :

But, clouds of toys untry'd do cloak aspiring minds,
Which turn to rain, of late repent, by course of changed
winds.

The top of hope suppos'd the root of ruth will be,
And fruitless all their graffed guiles, as shortly ye shall see :
Those dazzel'd eyes with pride, which great ambition^e blinds,
Shall be unsealed, by worthy wights, whose foresight fals-
hood finds :

The daughter of debate, that eke discord doth sow,
Shall reap no gain, where former rule hath taught still peace
to grow :

No *foreign banish'd wight* shall anchor in this port :^f
Our realm it brooks no stranger's force :^g let them elsewhere
resort :

Our rusty sword with rest shall first the edge employ,
To poll their topps, that seek such change, and gape for joy.

^c Letters from Shrewsbury, 3d, 4th, 9th June 1571, in the Paper Office.

^d Strype's Ann. ii. 89.

^e That of Norfolk.

^f The Scottish Queen : If Elizabeth had sent her out of port, there could have been no objection.

^g France, and Spain.

Doctor Wilson, who hath preserved, in his *Logic*, those *sweet* and *sententious* verses,^h hath informed us, that the Queen wrote those *sugar'd samples*; knowing the secret practices among her people, and many of her nobility, inclining too far to the Scottish Queen's party, though she had long dissembled her knowledge: What is this, but saying, that the people of England were then, what they are at present: Detesters of unmerited oppression; and friends of the oppressed!ⁱ Could there be stronger arguments, for desiring the Scottish Queen, to quit the island!

Of Norfolk, thus brought again before our inquisitive eyes, it may be well, to notice, by a few short recollections. As early as the conclusion of the enquiry, at York, Secretary Mait-

^h Strype.

ⁱ Shrewsbury, on the 17th of August 1571, wrote to Burghley the following communication of his suspicions of the Earl of Northumberland, and Mr. Wentworth, a papist, residing at Wentworth-house, three miles from Sheffield: "A
" few days before the late northern rebellion, the earl, and
" his lady, were three days privately, at Wentworth-house;
" and it was concerted, that the countess should come to
" Sheffield castle, in disguise of a nurse to Bastian's wife,
" then in childbed, [two of the Scottish Queen's *servants*]
" and being something like the Queen of Scots, in person,
" she was to endeavour, to convey the Queen away, by
" changing their apparel." [In the Paper Office.]

land, and the Bishop of Ross, had endeavoured to gain Norfolk, to pity the manifold distresses of the Scottish Queen. They even offered her marriage to him, which he modestly declined; yet, promised not to abandon the Queen of Scots, in her misery, as far as an honourable man could act, in a business so full of danger. Ligon, the duke's servant, by going often to Bolton castle, though under pretence of visiting the duke's sister, Lady Scroope, induced Knollys to suspect him of some particular purpose. For more surety, the Scottish Queen was removed from Bolton, which was surrounded by papists, to Tutbury, where she would see fewer friends. So many of the nobles of England were acquainted with this intrigue, that the secret could not be kept. But, the embarrassment now consisted, in mentioning so delicate an affair to Elizabeth.^k The ladies of the court, getting knowledge of what so many knew, communicated to their mistress Norfolk's love for Mary. The communication was still delayed; and Cecil advised Norfolk to mention the matter himself to the Queen, which would remove suspicion, from her mind. But, Norfolk still de-

^k It is more than probable, that it was a reliance on this intrigue, which induced the Scottish Queen, to act so weakly, with regard to the enquiry, at York.

layed, from delicacy. Leicester was involved, in this dangerous business: But, feigning to be sick, was visited, by Elizabeth, who seeing him oppressed with something on his spirits, intimated that he ought to keep no secret from her: And now with many a sigh, and many a pardon asked, Leicester opened the whole matter to her, from the beginning. Elizabeth soon after called Norfolk to her, in the gallery of the palace; chid him much; and commanded him, upon his allegiance, to cease, in future, from such intrigues. But, he was infatuated; and persevering in his ill-fated purpose, he was, in the end, put into ward, and on the 9th of October 1569, was sent to the Tower.

Cecil now busied himself, in collecting, and arranging every information, and fact, with respect to Norfolk's conduct. He applied to the Regent Murray, who revealed freely, what he knew, and what he had done; but Secretary Maitland, positively, refused, to say any thing upon the subject. The Bishop of Ross was, formally, examined; but, speaking, with his usual circumspection, was committed to ward. As Cecil, after some months enquiries, perceived, that the evidence, which he had collected against Norfolk would not convict him of treason, the duke was enlarged, on giving the strongest assurances, that he would not any more correspond with the Scottish Queen.

Norfolk, however, was so much interested, in the distresses of the Queen of Scots, that he engaged, covertly, in the troubles, and plots, and practices, of the years 1570, and 1571: giving informations, and contributing money, even when invasions, from abroad, were spoken of, for the absolute release of the Scottish Queen. He was, again, committed to the Tower, in September 1571, on much more serious charges. His whole correspondence with the Queen of Scots was, regularly, intercepted. His money, which he had sent to her friends, in Scotland, was detained on the road. His servants were examined. His connections were questioned. His intercourse with foreign agents was discovered. And, he himself confessed much, and denied little. Cecil had now collected, and arranged, such proofs against Norfolk, as affected his life: So that, on the 16th of January 1571-2, he was arraigned, on several charges of treason;¹ was tried, by his peers: and making a feeble defence, he

¹ One of the charges was: "That whereas he knew, that Mary, *late Queen of Scot's, had usurped the crown of England, with the title, and arms thereof; he, notwithstanding, had gone about to contract marriage with her, (without acquainting the Queen) and had sent her a great sum of money, contrary to what he had promised under his hand.*" [Camden's Eliz. 171.] What falsehood! What sophistry! The Queen of Scots *had never usurped the crown of England*

was found guilty ; and at length, on the 2d of June, 1572, suffered the pains of treason. Cecil, after all his circumspection, and his labours, was blamed, by Elizabeth, whose jealousies, were without end, for the execution of Norfolk, who, from his good qualities, had many friends, and much popularity ; and now Elizabeth apprehending, from his fate, all the dangers of privy conspiracy, and open insurrection, became extremely offended with Cecil ; whose usefulness soon restored him, however, to her favour.

The sad catastrophe of the duke's love, not to say imprudence, involved the fate of the Scottish Queen. A thousand rumours of designs, to free the Queen, only induced a thousand additional restrictions, from time to time, on her liberty. Her attendants, and servants, were reduced by Shrewsbury, to an inconvenient number. Her household was greatly restrained, under the pretence of regulations : The Bishop of Ross, her useful agent, had been confined, in May 1571 ; and being charged, with raising a rebellion, against Elizabeth ; was disavowed, henceforth, as an ambassador. It did not add to the Scottish Queen's comfort, when she heard of the capture of Dunbarton castle, by her enemies ; owing to the negligence of her friends.

The rumours of popular risings, for the free-

dom of the Queen of Scots continuing, Elizabeth, Cecil, and Shrewsbury, acted in concert, for making the Scottish Queen's confinement more narrow, and rigorous. All the woods, and moors, for some miles, around, were diligently patrolled, and guarded; and whenever the Queen walked out, soldiers were sent to clear the way, "that no suspected persons might be lurking about, for evil purposes." At length, Shrewsbury, with some difficulty, effected a further reduction of the Scottish Queen's servants. "She "was much grieved," said he, "and seemed to "despair of the continuance of her life."^m Lord Livingston was named, to remain about the Queen; but he demanded to go to court, which Shrewsbury, positively refused.ⁿ Lady Livingston had been ill, for eight weeks, and was thus unable to travel.^o Hearing of those severities, Mons. Fenelon, the French ambassador, wrote to Cecil, in the name of the King of France, that the Scottish Queen might receive more favourable treatment; as being so nearly allied to the crown of France.^p But, such letters were writ-

^m Lord Shrewsbury's letter to Cecil, 9th September 1571.

ⁿ Lord Livingston was afterwards allowed to go to court, with the Queen's letters. ^o Id.

^p Fenelon's letter, 17th September 1571, in the Paper Office.

ten, in vain, while rumours continued of various designs, to free the unhappy Queen, though it is apparent, that her life must have ceased, in the struggle, if any attempt had been actually made : Of his right to take the life of the Scottish Queen, in case of such an attempt, Shrewsbury, had not any doubt ; so much were the minds of the English nobles made up, in that age, to think their Queen's will the supreme law.

After suffering all those grievances, and vexations, the unfortunate captive was still doomed to swallow some very bitter pills, while her health declined.^a The Duke of Norfolk, at the command of Elizabeth, issued a declaration of all his proceedings, either by himself, or others, with the Queen of Scots.^r Soon after the arrival of the Queen, at Carlisle, her warden, the vice chamberlain Knollys, had laid it down as a sort of maxim, which appears to have been adopted,

^a There remains, in the Paper Office, a letter, from her, to the French ambassador, Fenelon, 18th November 1571 ; requesting him to send her certain cordials, and an ointment, to rub her side, and stomach, with ; adding, that the want of air, and exercise, had contributed to the decline of her health.

^r The declaration, 20th Novemb. 1571, is in the Paper Office.

by the statesmen of Elizabeth's court, that the Scottish Queen could not be detained, as a prisoner, *unless she were disgraced, by calumny*. The notorious enquiry, at York, at Westminster, at Hampton-court, was plainly conducted, on that maxim. Both parties seem to have made some preparations of attack, and defence, of the unhappy Queen, though with very unequal arms. Buchanan scribbled his *Detection of Mary's doings* : and Murray caused Buchanan, and Wood, to forge *Paris's Declaration*, in case *more proof should be wanted*. On the other side, the Bishop of Ross, with the hints and informations, of Lord Herries, and Lord Boyd, wrote *Mary's Defence*. The *detection*, and *defence*, seem to have both appeared, in 1571, during Mary's troubles.*

* On the 1st of November 1571, Cecil wrote to Walsingham, then the Queen's ambassador at Paris: "Having this
 " present occasion, to send two of my Lord Oxford's men,
 " to Paris, at his lordship's request; I thought good, also,
 " therewith to send to you, *this little treatise*, newly printed,
 " in Latin. I hear," he adds, "it is to be *translated into*
 " *English*, with additions of many other supplements of like
 " condition." [Digges's Ambass. 151.] This measure is explained, in another letter, from Cecil to the same ambassador, with some special instructions, from Elizabeth, with regard to Mary. To many arguments, which he was to use to the King of France, in order to dissuade him, from taking part

There remains a letter from Mary, on this subject, to the French ambassador, Fenelon, 22d November 1571 ; complaining, that a scandalous book, in Latin, detracting from her character, lately printed, had been put into her hands by Mr. Bateman, an officer of this castle, who, she was sure, would not have done it, had he not been directed to do so : She earnestly entreated the ambassador to lay the subject before his master ; and to request him to write

with the imprisoned Queen of Scots, it was thus added :
 “ And here, (were it not amiss) to have divers of *Buchanan's*
 “ *little Latin books*, to present, if need be, to the King, as
 “ from yourself, and likewise to some of the other noblemen
 “ of his council : For, they will serve to good effect, to dis-
 “ grace her ; which must be done, before other purposes can be
 “ attained.” [Ib. 152.] But, is *calumny* a moral act ? No.
 Is it religious ? No. Is it lawful ? No. We thus see Elizabeth, and Cecil, acting *immorally, irreligiously, and illegally*, for ruining the Scottish Queen. They even went further in pursuit of their guilty object. Lesley's *Defence* was stopped, at the printer's, in May 1569, before eight leaves of it were printed, as we know from Cecil himself. It was now sent abroad to be printed. On the 13th of April 1571, Charles Baillie, was taken, at Dover, with certain books, in English, for *Defence* of the Queen of Scots' honour, and title. [Lesley's *Diary*,—in Calig. iii. 37.] Baillie was imprisoned, and racked—to make him tell all that he knew :
 • Thus low, and vulgar, and base, could Elizabeth, and Cecil, act, in pursuit of their guilty objects !

to Queen Elizabeth to suppress such infamous publications against her : as the French King, had suppressed, in France, at the request of Queen Elizabeth, all publications, written by her subjects, in her favour : But, at all events, she begged, that this publication might be suppressed, in France, where she had many friends, who were interested, in her concerns, or that publications, in her favour, might be freely circulated there. She had requested a priest, to administer the sacrament to her, according to her religion, and conscience ; instead of which consolation, Mr. Bateman brought her a book, defaming her character, written by an atheist, Buchanan, whose impiety she well knew ; and had requested the Queen of England, that he might be removed, from being near to her son, to whom, she understood, he had been appointed preceptor.*

* The original of Mary's letter to the French ambassador, 22d Novemb. 1571, is in the Paper Office. There is, in the same office, a letter, from Mr. Bateman to Cecil, 12th December 1571 : " Notwithstanding his, [Bateman's] assertions to the contrary, the Scottish Queen would not believe, " but that the Latin book, which he had given her, was sent, " by his lordship's orders, though he declared, he gave it to " her, of his own act. She said, she knew the author was " George Buchanan, a vile atheist, who was schoolmaster " to her son. She has not seen any of the *English*, or *Scottish*

Thus doubly calumnious were Elizabeth, and Cecil, by circulating libels against the Scottish Queen, in every language ; while they would not suffer any writings to be published, in her favour, in England, or in France : And thus is established, for ever, the record of Elizabeth, and Cecil's immorality, irreligion and injustice, if calumnation be immoral, and it be irreligious, and unjust, to do unto others what they themselves would not suffer,—“ from the calumnious arts of counterfeited truth.”

“ copies of that book, [Buchanan's Detection] though there
“ are some, in the house ; but the earl has ordered, they
“ shall be kept from the sight of her, or any of her people.”
The Queen of Scots knew better than Bateman how Cecil bestowed such gifts ; as we may see above.

SECTION XIV.

*From the Death of Norfolk, till the Queen's
Attainder.*

THE Scottish Queen might have, easily, foreseen, from the jealousies of Elizabeth, and the vigilance of Cecil, that her intercourse, with Norfolk, would neither release her, from her confinement, nor contribute to her comfort. But, the Queen, from her arrival, in England, had allowed confident hope, to delude her into notions, and expectations, which probability did not warrant, and possibility could alone justify. Acting upon such delusive principles, she could, only, expect to meet disappointment, in her progress. What she wrote, however, to the Bishop of Ross, in answer to his first letter to her, after his imprisonment, merits our approbation : She had now been confined, said she, for ten weeks to one chamber, which, considering her disorder, endangered her life ; and, however her death might gratify her enemies, she called God to witness, she considered herself, in no danger, from the Earl of Shrewsbury, who would have a due regard to his honour : She

was determined to do her duty, in preserving her life ; but if it pleased God to take it, *it would not be much to her grief* ; yet would she die, with the constancy of a good christian, and of a Queen, descended of such blood as hers : She should rejoice to leave this false world, with a fair conscience ; knowing she had left a son, and heir, who had friends, that were able to defend her cause, and his, after she was gone.^u This letter to her faithful agent contains a notable mixture of despondency, and firmness.

In the subsequent month, Shrewsbury was summoned, by Elizabeth, to attend her on special business, in January, then next ;^v And old Sir Ralph Sadler, was dispatched, to take charge of the Scottish Queen, in the absence of her warden. Sir Ralph arrived, at Sheffield, before the commencement of the new year. And, he had, immediately, his first interview with the fair object of his charge. He assured her of his wish to do every thing acceptable to her, consistent with his duty. She replied, that she was in Elizabeth's hands, who would order, as she pleased : But, she thought herself, hardly,

^u Letter in the Paper Office, 22d November, 1571.

^v Elizabeth's letter to Shrewsbury, 3d December 1571, in the Paper Office.

and undeservedly, treated. To this intimation, Sir Ralph replied, in the cant of the court, that her own conscience would tell her, that the Queen had good cause, to do more than she had done, as he would convince her, if she pleased. But, Mary declined to go into fruitless crimination.^w Sir Ralph, however, seems to have soon after renewed his conversation, though the Scottish Queen came not out of her chamber, where Lady Shrewsbury, often saw her. The Queen, who had so much cause to feel, that she was not free, complained much of Elizabeth's hard usage, in depriving her of liberty. The time was now come, for Sir Ralph to enlarge on the mildness of his mistress's government. The Scottish Queen, said he, had only herself to blame, by constantly stirring up plots against her government ; and yet no other prince would have used so much courtesy. It is apparent, that Sir Ralph, with all his experience, slurred over the fundamental complaint of Mary, which comprehended all other grievances. I came into England a fugitive, to ask my relation, for aid ; and she imprisoned me : What moral right had she, to deprive me of my

^w Sir Ralph's letter to Cecil, 3d January 1571-2, in the Paper Office.

liberty : Cecil, we may remember, attempted to answer this question, and failed, egregiously, and Sir Ralph was silent. This immoral, and illegitimate, conduct of Elizabeth gave Mary a right, to use her best endeavours to regain her freedom : And as Elizabeth placed herself in a hostile attitude against Mary ; so the Scottish Queen acquired the same right to treat Elizabeth, as an enemy. Mary added, she knew not what the Duke of Norfolk, and others, might have done : They must be answerable for their own actions : but for her own part, she was innocent of any attempts against her Majesty, or her government. As to the Bishop of Ross, he was a fearful priest, who would say any thing ; and if he was at liberty, and out of the realm, would unsay it again. She disclaimed all connection with the man named Rudolphi ; and denied Sir Ralph's charges of plots, though he suspected, that she knew more of such matters than she would acknowledge. He was soon tired of his situation, at Sheffield, and wished to return to London ; as he could not, easily, please either Queen.

Shrewsbury relieved Sir Ralph, in this invidious charge, on the 3d of February 1571-2. He brought with him an epistle from Cecil, in the name of his mistress. The secretary disapproved highly of the Scottish Queen's last

letter to her Majesty, which was filled, said he, with “ uncomely, passionate, ireful, and vindictive speeches ;^x” and he referred the Scottish Queen to a memorial, which Shrewsbury would deliver ; and to which her Majesty desired a rational, and temperate answer. Elizabeth was so used to flattery, and submission, that she could not relish the plain, and vigorous writing of such a character, as the Scottish Queen, who derived animation, from her feelings. The two Queens could not easily join issue, on any point ; so differently did they feel, and think. Shrewsbury informed Cecil, that the Queen of Scots had written her mind, at great length, to her Majesty. Since his return, the Scottish Queen had been once out ; “ and she was so eager to “ walk out, shat she was content to step over “ her shoes into the snow ;”^y Such was the anxiety of a prisoner. Shrewsbury had been called to London, to give his advice, about the

^x The above expressions were, however, softened in the real letter to the following : “ Her majesty wishes, that “ reason may be present with you, and passion absent, at “ the reading of the memorial ;” and it closes in this manner : “ Your cousin that wishes you a better mind.” The original answer of the Queen of Scots, remains in the Paper Office ; consisting of *fourteen pages*, closely written in *French* : It is dated 13th Feb. 1571-2.

^y Letter 18th Feb. 1571-2, in the Paper Office.

measures, which were, plainly, in contemplation, with regard to the Scottish Queen. And, his charge having some intimation of his advice, treated her warden, with less ceremony of manner, and more sharpness of speech, than her usual courtesy dictated.

Meantime, Scotland was distracted, as well by foreign, as by civil war, arising from Elizabeth's guilty passions of hatred, interest, and ambition. By her expeditions, her armies laid waste the southern, and western districts of that unhappy kingdom.^z The Queen's friends found new leaders, in Maitland, the ablest statesman, and in Grange, the best soldier. But, the Queen, and her friends, sustained a great loss, in April 1571, by the capture of Dunbarton castle, and with it, Archbishop Hamilton; who being tried for crimes, whereof he was not guilty, was soon after barbarously executed. Lennox, the Regent of Elizabeth, did not please her: as he disobeyed her instructions, and violated his engagements. He ere long

^z There, indeed, remains, a letter from Elizabeth to her lieutenant, the Earl of Sussex, in May 1570; disapproving of her *auxiliaries* having marched from Edinburgh to Glasgow. [Calig. c. ii. fol. 173.] But, such was the duplicity of her habit, that her declarations are always to be taken, with great limitations.

met his fate, in September 1571 : while he was holding a convention, at Stirling, he was surprised, and slain, by a detachment, which had been sent, from Edinburgh ; and which had it been as well conducted, as the expedition was ably planned ; the whole of the King's party had been destroyed. The Earl of Mar was chosen successor to Lennox : But, being thwarted by Morton, the agent of Elizabeth, in his endeavours for peace, died in October 1572, some said of poison, some, of a broken heart. Morton now succeeded Mar, as Regent ; and ruled this unhappy kingdom, for many a year, with an iron rod, forged by Elizabeth, and exercised by him.

The French King, though not the French government, seems to have been sincere, but feeble, in his endeavours, to protect the Queen of Scots. The year 1572, opened with a treaty, between England, and France : and Charles IX, strenuously, insisted, that the Scottish Queen, and her cause, should be introduced into the treaty, which was then under negotiation. The English ambassadors, easily answered, in technical language, that they had no authority, to treat of that Queen, or her pretensions.* As an ancient ally, and Dowager

* Digges, 190-91-2.

of France, the French King might have insisted, that the treaty might be postponed, till they obtained powers, for so just a purpose. But, the whole conversation of the English envoys evinced, sufficiently, what had now become apparent, that Elizabeth had, finally, determined, to imprison the Scottish Queen, for life: But, the questions of fitness, and of right, in making the Queen of Scots answerable, in her person, for the supposititious security of Elizabeth, will always recur.^b That Queen coming into England, peaceably, to ask, for safety, could not be imprisoned upon any principle of national law, of any moral system, or of any religious establishment.

But, scenes of a somewhat different sort were, at hand. Burghley had exhausted his whole policy, and artifices, to induce Elizabeth to proceed, effectually, against the Duke of Norfolk, who had lain long, in the Tower, and against the Queen of Scots, whom he intended,

^b Elizabeth pretended to answer the French King's desire of inserting the Scottish Queen, and her cause, in the pending treaty: But, what she said was mere sophistry, by introducing Scotland, and its King, which were quite beside the purpose of the French King's proposal, of introducing such a question, as the Queen of Scots' pretensions. Digges, 186-7.

to pursue, criminally. Owing to Elizabeth's temperament, the Scottish Queen became, daily, a greater object of jealousy, dread, and vexation, while France, and Italy, and Spain, pitied her hard fate, and endeavoured her relief.

In this state of things, with regard to both those great persons, Burghley advised the calling of a Parliament, which he could influence, for consultation, and advice. Meanwhile, he applied to the English bishops, for their spiritual advice, in respect to the Scottish Queen.^c The Parliament assembled, on the 8th of May 1572.^d The Scottish Queen had been, sufficiently, calumniated, both at home, and abroad, by Burghley's artifices, to admit of any member, of either house of Parliament, to be ignorant of what was laid to her charge, either proved, or unproved, by whatever means. There seems

^c The bishops, accordingly, presented to Elizabeth *reasons*, from the word of God, to prove, that she might, lawfully put, the Queen of Scots to death. See this document, in Calig. c. ii. 524 : D'Ewes' Journal, 207. Here, then, are the sacred scriptures brought, to justify manifest wrong. Some of the Scottish bishops had, sufficiently, disgraced themselves, by declaring, in favour of Bothwell's marriage with their Queen. We now see the English bishops, bringing *holy writ*, to justify uncharitableness, violences, and wrong!

^d D'Ewes' Journal, 205.

to have been no speech from the throne, pointing to the causes of the Parliamentary meeting : But, we perceive Burghley very busy, in managing the several members of both houses of Parliament. We see what he had communicated, privately, to both : We see the “ reasons, “ drawn out of the Scriptures, for proceeding “ severely against the Scottish Queen :”^e We see “ an argument, persuading the Queen’s “ majesty to have great care of the safety of “ her own person :”^f We see “ reasons out of “ the civil law, against the Scottish Queen :”^g We see “ reasons, to prove the fitness, both in “ honour, and in justice, of proceeding against “ the Queen of Scots, for the treasons committed by her.”^h Both houses, owing to those causes, were violently heated, as well by their zeal for religion, as their enmity to the Scottish Queen, and by their attachment to Elizabeth : They saw every object through the mist of prejudice. Under this influence, it was said, in the humble petition to her majesty, “ that the

^e D'Ewes' Journal. Those reasons, are, no doubt, the bishops' reasons on the same subject.

^f D'Ewes', 211.

^g Ib. 215 : There were *reasons* in answer to those *reasons* : and there were reasons, for doubting the reasons, in answer.

Ib. 216-17.

^h Ib. 218.

“ *late Queen of Scots* being driven through
 “ violence, to take harbour in your realm, had
 “ not only your majesty’s most gracious *protec-*
 “ *tion*, but was saved, by your authority, from
 “ the execution of death, within her own king-
 “ dom.”ⁱ But, *protection*, and *imprisonment*,
 are quite different, in their nature ; and supply
 very different inferences : The fact is, that the
 Scottish Queen was *imprisoned*, and not *protect-*
ed, when she landed, peaceably, in England :
 And neither Elizabeth, nor Cecil, ever justified
 this act of imprisonment ; because, it could not
 be defended, by any law, or any policy : It was
 a mere act of violence, which continued to the
 present moment ; and nullified the reasonings
 of those, who call for the blood of the Scottish
 Queen. The commons voted a petition, for the
 execution of the Duke of Norfolk ; which was,
 accordingly done, on the 2d of June 1572.
 The Lords sent to the Commons a bill of at-
 tainder of the daughter of James V. the late
 Queen of Scots : This bill was passed ; and was
 returned to the Lords.^k But, the Parliament
 were, immediately, commanded, by the Queen,
 to adjourn themselves ; yet, this adjournment,
 saith D’Ewes, put an end to this present ses-

ⁱ Ib. 215.^k Ib. 221-3.

sion ; her majesty giving her assent to thirteen public, and four private acts,¹ though the bill of attainder was, virtually, rejected, by Elizabeth ; who seems to have been alarmed, by the zeal, and vehemence, of the two houses, which Burghley had promoted, and which induced her, to put a sudden end to their proceedings, even sooner than her minister expected.

Meanwhile, Burghley, in the usual style of his policy, sent commissioners, soon after the execution of Norfolk, to accuse the Scottish Queen of certain matters, with which she may be charged.^m

¹ *Ib.* 225. The Parliament did not meet again till 8th of February 1575-6. *Ib.* 236.

^m The commissioners were Lord Delawar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Dr. Wilson, and Bromley, the solicitor general. The matters of charge had been drawn by Burghley ; as we might infer, from the first article, which he always included, in his enumerations of charge. Burghley, in his letter, to Shrewsbury, of the 5th of September 1572 ; directing him to sift the Queen of Scots, about the purposes wherewith she was charged ; desires Shrewsbury “ to tempt her patience, to “ provoke her to answer somewhat.” *Lodge*, ii. 71-2. All mankind must reprobate such directions, as little better, than torture : Yet, all the wardens, from the epoch of her imprisonment, used this practice of provoking the indignation of the Scottish Queen, to say what was unfit ; and then to report it to Elizabeth. Knollys’s letters are full of such grossnesses.

This measure was communicated, by Elizabeth, to Shrewsbury, on the 11th of June 1572. There was a more elaborate epistle written to the Scottish Queen ; informing her of the same measure ; and that both houses of Parliament had earnestly petitioned her, that measures might be taken against that Queen, as a person, continually, employed, in schemes to deprive Elizabeth of her crown, and to foment rebellion, in England : The Queen of Scots was now required to answer the questions, which put to her, by the royal commissioners, plainly, would be and not give way to frivolous answers, which, she was told, would only injure her cause.^a

The Scottish Queen might have said, generally, if I be such a character, as you describe, send me a passport, to carry me out of England : She, undoubtedly, protested against the jurisdiction of the Queen of England, and against the authority of her commissioners, to demand answers of her.

The Scottish Queen now answered those several charges, with a settled mind, and countenance, as we learn, from Camden, who has given both the charges, and answers. The first charge might have been worded in this man-

^a Those letters are in the Paper Office.

ner : You claimed the⁷ crown of England, with the style, and arms thereof, in the life of Francis II. and since his demise, and have not relinquished this claim, though you were bound, by the treaty of Edinburgh, so to do, and have been often requested. No : She ought not to have been charged, with this article ; because, before she left France, she gave a decisive reason, why she ought not to be so charged : She said, that she was a married woman, under the power of her husband ; and they were both under the authority of the French King, who commanded them, to assume the title, and arms of England ; but, since her husband's death, she had never used such title, and arms, and never intended to use them, during the life of Elizabeth, and her legitimate issue : As to the treaty of Edinburgh, with the making of which the several negotiators ought to be ashamed, she had a right, as a sovereign, to refuse her ratification ; because it was made by her negotiators, who stated, they had no authority to consent to such a clause ; which was in itself unfit to be ratified ; as it conveyed a different meaning, from the true one. Now ; this reasoning never was answered ; because, it could not be, fairly, answered ; Yet, was this charge always brought forward, unfairly, by Cecil, one of the negotiators of the

treaty of Edinburgh, in order, by the accumulation of petty charges, to make out one great act of efficient crimination.

As an introduction to her particular answer to each several charge, the Scottish Queen might have reasoned in this manner : Upon the assurances of your Queen, I came voluntarily into England, to claim that asylum, and protection, which, contrary to treaty, you gave, year after year, to every plotter, murderer, and traitor, who fled from my realm to yours : But, instead of an asylum, and protection, you immediately placed me in ward, and have imprisoned my person, from that epoch to this moment, without pretending to justify my imprisonment, which is against all law, all morals, and all religion : And, because you acted against law, morals, and religion, when you imprisoned me ; you thereby gave me a right to free myself, from your unwarrantable imprisonment, by all the means, and all the persons, within my power, however inconvenient to you, as you brought that inconvenience upon yourselves, by your own wrong to my injury : You have carried on enquiries, with regard to my conduct, within my own kingdom, in the unfairerest manner, for the odious purposes of calumnation, and detraction ; and you have published libels against me, which you have sent

into France, with the base design of depriving me of my friends, by representing me, as a person unworthy of their protection, or kindness. Thus might Mary have remonstrated to those commissioners, who came, to tempt, and betray, rather than to discuss, and settle, any point: What they charged her with; and what she answered, may be seen, in Camden, Strype, and the public papers, that have been printed; and she sent both the charges, and answers, to the French ambassador, on the 19th of June 1572.^o

Owing to all those events, the year 1572,

^o Calig. C. iii. 314. The first paper, entitled, *certain Articles*, is republished, in Murdin, 218; the second paper, containing *the Queen's Answers*, was reprinted in Camden's Hist. of Eliz. Transl. 181, and Strangwaye's Life of Mary. If Cecil had been as prudent, as he was wise, he would not have so often brought the treaty of Edinburgh upon the carpet; as it was disgraceful to him: By the English treaty, he endeavoured to swindle the Scottish Queen out of her inheritance: Contrary to the declaration of the French ambassadors, that they had *no power, to treat of the Queen's title*, he inserted a clause, whereby, he made her renounce, for ever, her claim to the English crown. And, because the Scottish Queen detected his knavery, and refused to ratify such a treaty, with such a clause, he, continually, brought forward her conduct, as matter of charge against her. Cecil concurred, on that occasion, with the Scottish insurgents, in forging the Scottish treaty of Edinburgh, by which the

may be considered, as fatal to the hopes of the Scottish Queen, who was now at the age of thirty. An attainder, by the two Houses of Parliament, stood recorded against her. Her correspondences had been almost all intercepted: And, the answers, however guarded, which had been, by Burghley's artifices, obtained from her to those supposititious charges, laid open many of her intrigues, for her freedom. Her faithful, and zealous agent, the Bishop of Ross, after a long imprisonment, was ordered, to quit the kingdom. Her party, in Scotland, by neglect, and mismanagement, had almost melted away, if we except the persons, who remained, in Edinburgh Castle, which was taken, in the subsequent year, by Elizabeth's army.^p And above all, *the massacre of Paris*, by

French negotiators, contrary to their declaration of want of powers to Elizabeth, were made to give away almost the whole sovereignty of the Scottish Queen; and yet, Cecil did not blush, when he was detected, in such a fraud, as evinced him capable of any villainy.

^p There remains a letter of Maitland to Q. Mary, 10th August 1572; representing the decayed state of her party, in Scotland; the cruelties exercised on the people, in the castle; the remissness of the French, in sending them aid; and mentioning the abstinence, which they had been obliged to agree to. Calig. C. iii. 304. After the capture of the castle of Edinburgh, in 1573, Maitland died of poison, and the

exciting general indignation, gave a severe stroke to every pretension of the unfortunate Queen.

The unhappy Queen, like the man in deep waters, caught at the straw, which was the most likely to save her. Such feeble efforts, were easily baffled, by the pretences of Elizabeth, who had, by the imprisonment of Mary, done her such an injury, as nothing, which the Scottish Queen had done, could balance. The Earl of Northumberland, who had escaped to Scotland, was surrendered, by Morton, in consideration of money paid him ; and the ill-fated earl was soon after executed, as a traitor, at York. It is the remark of Camden, that Morton had received from Northumberland, many favours, when he had fled into England, after the murder of Rizzio : But, who ever, he adds, were grateful to the unfortunate.

The policy of Elizabeth, in not assenting to the act of attainder against the Queen of Scots was, formally, communicated to her, by Shrewsbury. The favoured Queen expressed herself much pleased ; and said “ she hoped, “ as her Majesty had respected the justice of

gallant Kirkaldy, the governor, was hanged. Amidst these events, the Scottish Queen cannot be said to have had any avowed party, in her native kingdom.

“ her cause, in one point, she would do so in
 “ others ; and that her enemies would not
 “ attempt to prejudice her Majesty farther
 “ against her :” The earl advised her to con-
 tinue in that disposition ; and to lay aside all
 sinister dealings, as the only way to continue
 her Majesty’s favour : But, said he to Burghley,
 “ I cannot pretend to say, that she will forbear
 “ her accustomed practices.”^a No : while the
 warden continued to intercept, and open, her
 letters, she received them, from his hands, with
 expressions of indignation. But, that a high
 spirited Queen should not, under an unprin-
 cipated, and unjust, imprisonment, sit down,
 without a struggle, was supposed, by Elizabeth,
 and her statesmen, to be vastly unnatural, and
 absurd. Yet, was the absurdity, and the un-
 reasonableness, all their own ; as the conduct
 of the imprisoned Queen was exactly what
 might have been expected ; being so natural.
 Elizabeth had indulged her guilty passions,
 respecting the Scottish Queen, till she became
crazy ; and being *crazy*, supposed that she
 could not exist, if the Queen of Scots were
 free : It may, however, be asked, how Eliza-
 beth existed, while her rival queen enjoyed her

^a Letter in the Paper Office, 9th July 1572.

freedom. *Wickedness* is a kind of *voluntary frenzy*, and a *chosen distraction*, saith TILLOTSON : And we may thus infer, what must have been the state of Elizabeth's mind, when, about that time, she told her ministers, " that the " Queen of Scots's head should never be in " quiet."^r

^r Hearne's Rob. of Glo'ster, ii, 673.

SECTION XV.

From the Queen's Attainder, till Morton's Execution.

ELIZABETH, from the events of 1572, seems to have obtained some higher authority over the Scottish Queen, and her ruined kingdom. Charles IX. withdrew his affections, from the Dowager of France, when he was told, by falsifiers, that she relied more upon Spain, than upon his attachment. The French King, and Elizabeth, entered into a treaty of amity, and aid, at Blois, in April 1572.* When this treaty was ratified, by Montmorency, he made a feeble

* The article in it, with regard to Scotland, shows, sufficiently, how much reason the Queen's friends, in her native kingdom, had to complain of being sacrificed, by French perfidy, or folly: "The contracting parties," says the treaty, "shall make no innovations, in Scotland; but shall defend it against foreigners, nor shall they cherish factions, in Scotland: However, it shall be lawful, for the Queen of England, to prosecute, by arms, those Scots, who shall harbour the English rebels, now, in Scotland." What was this but a sacrifice of every one, who did not bow the knee to Morton, the English agent. Under that treaty, Elizabeth sent an army to Edinburgh, in the subsequent year, which took the castle; and thereby suppressed the Queen's party.

effort, that some favour might be shown to the Scottish Queen, and that the Scottish matters, embarrassed as they were, might be adjusted. But, such feeble efforts were, easily, baffled, by the pretences of Elizabeth, who had, by the imprisonment of Mary, done her such an injury, as nothing, which the Scottish Queen had practised to Elizabeth, could balance.^t

Elizabeth carried her fears, and anxieties, about the safe-keeping of the Scottish Queen, almost to insanity. In February 1573, the captive Queen received some money from France, which was due to her, as a part of her dower, and which inspired the persecuting sovereign with terrible apprehensions: and those were heightened, by some intimations, from the Earl of Huntington, of a suspicion of some attempt to rescue the captive. Shrewsbury endeavoured to pacify Elizabeth's inquietudes in vain: Her guilty passions were not to be allayed, by whatever assurances.^u But, Elizabeth, from her tem-

^t There remains an instruction, dated the 11th of January 1572-3, to the Earl of Worcester, going ambassador to Paris; with the answer to be given by him, if any application should be made, on behalf of the Queen of Scots, either *for her life*, or her deliverance. Digges, 320-1. This evinces, that Elizabeth's government, as early as January 1573, aimed at the life of the Scottish Queen.

^u Shrewsbury wrote Elizabeth, on the 1st of March 1573;

perament, was seldom free from some disquiet. Two daughters of Lord Howard of Effingham; Lady Sheffield, and Frances Howorth, contended together, who should love Lord Leicester, the most;^v and the Queen thought not well of them, and not the better of him: So there were spies placed upon him. Lord Oxford was lately grown into great credit; as the Queen delighted more, in his personage, and his dancing, and valour, than any other; if it were not for his fickle head, he would have passed any of them shortly.^w Lady Burghley, unwisely, declared herself, as if she were jealous, which circumstance came to the Queen's ears, whereat she was not a little offended. At all these love matters "the lord treasurer *winketh*, and will

assuring her, that he should keep his prisoner sure enough; so as to be forthcoming, at her majesty's command, "ether *quyke*, or *ded*;" and that if any forcible attempt were made, to take her away, "the greatest peril is sure to be hers." Lodge, ii. 96, who strongly reprobates *the frightful passages*, in that letter. Shrewsbury wrote to Burghley, in less terrific terms, how Queen Mary was grieved at *Lady Livingston's imprisonment*, and at the Scottish matters; the siege of Edinburgh, and the destruction of her friends, and subjects. Ib. 99.

^v Leicester married the former, and Hertford the latter.

^w Lord Oxford married Burghley's daughter; and because the minister would not save Norfolk, vowed vengeance against his own wife.

“ not meddle. Hatton is still sick ; and the
 “ Queen goeth almost every day, to see how he
 “ doth.* Such were the doings, at the court of
 Elizabeth, who, we are to recollect, was now
 at the *discreet age of forty*. Meantime, the
 Scottish Queen was warded, in *Sheffield lodge*,
 until Sheffield castle should be cleansed.[†]

It was here that Shrewsbury communicated to the Scottish Queen the news of the capture of Edinburgh castle, with the fate of her friends. The Queen, as might be expected, was much displeased with his information ; saying that he never brought her any thing good, but every thing unwelcome : The earl replied, that she ought to approve of the Queen's consideration, for her son, in putting herself to great charges, to recover Edinburgh castle for him : “ A pretty
 “ matter,” said she ; “ no thanks at all, for help-
 “ ing my son, to annoy me.” From this event, which delivered Scotland to Morton, as Regent, and as Elizabeth's agent, the Scottish Queen resolved “ to give no ear to intelligence
 “ from Scotland, but would keep quiet, and use

* Gilbert Talbot's court news, to his father, Lord Shrewsbury, 11th May 1573. Lodge, ii. 100-1.

† Id. *Sheffield lodge* still remains, while Sheffield castle has been long demolished, and its site occupied, by the town of *Smiths*.

“all means to preserve her health.” Shrewsbury added to Cecil, “that though she makes “little show of any grief; yet, this news nips “her very sore.”^z There appears to have been a very vulgar propensity, in such statesmen, as Shrewsbury, to consider every event, under one view, only, as it pleased Elizabeth; but never, as the same event struck at the heart of another queen, as high-minded as she: Neither did he reflect, that every one is *nipped sore*, who has played his *last card*, in whatever game.

The Scottish Queen had now played her last card; her usual hopes seem to have left her; and the misery of her mind brought with it the debility of her body. Buxton, like the watering places, at present, was then the great restorative of bad health, and depressed spirits. As early as July 1573, the Scottish Queen desired to be removed to *Buxton wells*.^a The French ambassador represented the bad state of her health, and the humanity of gratifying her wish. Elizabeth, who feared, that the worlds of France, and Spain, would regard her as a woman, without a heart, and a Queen, without feeling, consented, that Shrewsbury should carry the Scottish Queen to Buxton wells, *in a secret manner*,

^z Shrewsbury's letter to Cecil, 7th June, 1573, in the Paper Office.

^a Lodge, ii. 108-9.

with great care, that she did not effect her escape, and no strangers to be permitted to approach her infectious presence. To Buxton wells was she carried, in August 1573, from Chatsworth, where Shrewsbury, and his family, then resided.^b Lord Burghley was now well stricken in years; and began to feel the infirmities of age, as well as the debility, arising from mental labour; and in August 1573, went to Buxton, for the benefit of the waters, while the Scottish Queen sought the same advantage: But, *the waters*, are administered, in vain, without air, exercise, and amusement. Lord Burghley could not be at Buxton, without seeing the Scottish Queen, whose health was broken, and whose charms were on the wane: But, he had seen, and conversed with her before: and he had read many letters, which warned all those, who approached that princess, to beware of *female charm*. Elizabeth had unluckily read the same epistles; and, strange to tell, she conceived a violent suspicion, that Burghley had become partial to the Queen of Scots, notwithstanding his rooted hatred; and even went to Buxton, to ingratiate himself with Elizabeth's

^b Lodge, iii. 13. From Chatsworth Mary wrote Cecil; recommending the President du Verdier, the chancellor of her dowry; and asking for his good offices. Calig. C. iv. 119.

rival.^c Needless jealousy could not go beyond this green-eyed conceipt of Elizabeth's tainted head, and heart. In this fit of lunacy, Elizabeth equally suspected Shrewsbury, and equally expressed her guilty discontent to this vigilant warden,^d who tried, perhaps, in vain, to tranquillize her restless humour.

^c Strype's Ann. ii. 248-9. On this subject. Burghley wrote to Shrewsbury, 24th Decemb. 1575 : " My Lord, it is
 " overtrue, and overmuch against reason, that upon my be-
 " ing, at Buckstons, last, advantage was sought, by some,
 " that loved me not, to confirm in her majesty a former con-
 " ceit, which had been laboured, to put into her head, that
 " I was, of late time, become friendly to the Queen of Scots,
 " and that I had no disposition to encounter her practices ;
 " and now at my being at Buckstons, her majesty did directly
 " conceive, that my being there was, by means of your lord-
 " ship, and my lady, to enter into intelligence, with the
 " Queen of Scots ; and hereof, at my return to her majesty's
 " presence, I had very sharpe reproofs, for my going to
 " Buckstons, with plain charging of me, for favouring the
 " Queen of Scots : and that in so earnest a sort, as I never
 " looked for ; knowing my integrity to her majesty ; but,
 " especially knowing how contrariously the Queen of Scots
 " conceived of me, for many things passed to the offence of
 " the Queen of Scots ;" &c. Lodge, ii. 131-2.

^d Shrewsbury wrote Elizabeth, from Sheffield castle, on the 29th of December 1573 : " He conceived, by some
 " words, which the Queen's majesty uttered of late to his
 " son, Gilbert, an alteration, in her favour, which greatly
 " discomfited him : He asserted his faithful service ;
 " and he descanted on the hatred of the Queen of Scots

The year 1574, opened with fresh attempts, to disquiet Elizabeth, and to injure Mary, by new rumours, while she still remained, in Sheffield castle. William Wharton appears to have been employed, by Walsingham, as a spy; to watch the Scottish Queen's movements, in the north: He seems to have been recommended, for this service, by Sir John Forster, a warden on the northern frontiers.^e Such, then, were the artifices, which were resorted to, by Elizabeth's ministers, for entrapping the Scottish Queen, in her endeavours, for freedom. Meantime, Shrewsbury was full as much disquieted, as Mary, herself, by these unmanly artifices.^f

“ against him, for the severe keeping her; and considered
 “ her as his principal enemy;” &c. Murdin, 272-3.

^e Sir John Forster wrote to the Earl of Bedford; commending Wharton, who had been directed, by Walsingham, for bringing to light the Queen of Scotland's devices, which were reported to the Earl of Huntington, at York, the 27th of March 1574. *Ib.* 443. There is an order delivered to Huntington, by Wharton; touching his repair to Sheffield, and *being there apprehended, to prevent suspicion, by her.* *Ib.* 444.

^f Shrewsbury wrote to Burghley, from Sheffield, on the 16th of April 1574, about the calumniations of Corker, one of his chaplains, who had combined with Haworth, another clergyman, to infuse into Elizabeth a suspicion, that Shrewsbury secretly favoured the Scottish Queen; and vindicating himself, and asserting his fidelity to Elizabeth, and enmity to Mary's pretensions. He intimated to Burghley, that he

He complained to Burghley ; but, for some-time, complained in vain, as to the great affliction of this weighty charge.^g Among the other infelicities, which about that time, occurred, in the Scottish Queen's embarrassed affairs, she lost her Secretary Roulet, who died, in August 1574 ; a misfortune this, which supplied proofs how little intrigue she carried on, at that period of her misfortunes.^h Whatever effect this discovery of nothing, in the coffers of Roulet, might have had on Elizabeth's temperament ; certain it is, that she then enjoyed a lucid interval of some quiet, when the rival Queen was mentioned to her. Mary, it seems, by sending Elizabeth presents, of " certain of her works" found the proper key of her impervious heart. Leicester himself communicated this happy change to the wretched Shrewsbury.ⁱ

would think himself most happy, to be rid of so weighty, and cumbersome a charge, " the care whereof," said he, " has almost brought me to my grave." Lodge, ii. 116-17.

^g Ib. 118-19.

^h Shrewsbury wrote Secretary Walsingham, on the 31st August 1574, that Roulet died, yesterday morning, and that he, the letter writer, thinking this a good occasion, to find something that might serve the Queen's majesty, immediately, took possession of the keys of Roulet's coffers ; and had made a long search ; but could find nothing of any effect. Ib. 119-20.

ⁱ By his letter of the 5th of September, Leicester intimated,

But, this state of good humour did not last long. An event happened, towards the end of 1574, which completely deprived Elizabeth of her recent moderation ; as it touched the string, that affected her Turkish prejudice, the most : Lady Lennox, and Lady Shrewsbury managed to marry two persons of the blood royal, without her knowledge :^k For this family offence, the two ladies were sent to prison, and Lord Shrewsbury incurred the Queen's indignation : And, the whole intrigue, by Elizabeth's jea-

that Queen Elizabeth seemed of late to receive very kindly *such tokens*, as Queen Mary hath sent her ; and seemed disposed to send her, soon, some *token*, in return. The Queen's majesty had intimated this to the French ambassador, who would, probably, communicate the same to Queen Mary : But, Leicester had sent the notice, directly, to Shrewsbury, that he might anticipate the ambassador's communication. Lodge, ii. 121. There is, indeed, in Calig. E. vi. 288, a letter of the 7th of November 1574, from La Mot Fenelon, the French ambassador, with a present, from the Queen of Scots, to Queen Elizabeth.

^k The happy couple were Charles, Earl of Lennox, the son of Lady Lennox, by her late husband ; and of course a younger brother of the deceased Lord Darnley ; and he was now married to Elizabeth Cavendish, who was descended, by the female line, from Henry VII., the daughter of Lady Shrewsbury, by her former husband : And, of this offensive marriage, between the Earl of Lennox, and Elizabeth Cavendish, was the Lady Arabella Stewart, who gave so much disquiet to King James, in subsequent times.

lousy, was attributed to the Scottish Queen, who had an apparent interest to oppose such a marriage; as it raised up competitors to her own pretensions on the crown. By letters to Elizabeth, and Burghley, Shrewsbury wrote every thing, that he conceived would palliate the conduct of the imprisoned ladies, and justify himself.¹ The result of all these intrigues, arising out of that marriage, was the appointment of Henry, earl of Huntington, who also had *his pretensions* to the crown, to be president of the council, in the north, with new instructions, that were more applicable to the occasion, and more preventive of the danger.

The detection of Cockyn, who had been the instrument of intercourse, between the Scottish Queen, and her ambassador, the Bishop of Ross, disclosed much intelligence, and exposed some of her friends.^m On such occasions, we must

¹ Lodge, ii. 122—4. Shrewsbury also wrote, on the 27th of December 1574, to the Privy Council, from Sheffield castle, at the request of the Countess of Lennox, all that he could discover of her behaviour towards Queen Mary, and of the countess's dealing, when she was in those northern parts. Ib. 126-7.

^m In the British Museum, there is the letter, 20th February 1574-5, of Cockyn to Burleigh; begging for his pardon. Calig. C. iv. 249. There are Cockyn's Depositions, about D. Good, the Bishop of Ross, Morgan, and other persons,

always recur to the imprisonment of the unhappy Queen, without cause, without right, and without law : If she were thus imprisoned, her endeavours, for obtaining her freedom, were necessarily justified by the original wrong, which could not be defended, by any principles of morals, or any maxim of law. Such must be, for ever, the reflections of every considerate mind, on behalf of a captive Queen ! She was doomed, incidentally, to sustain other miseries. The earthquake, which happened, in February 1575, endangered, and frightened the Scottish Queen, by the sinking of her chamber.^a But, we may see, in the note below, that Elizabeth's vigilance was still awake, and her jealousy unappeased. Of course, the friends of the Scottish Queen found

who were connected with the Queen of Scots. Julius F. vi. 38.

^a Lodge, ii. 128-9. Shrewsbury's letter to Burghley, of the 3d of March. He thanked Elizabeth, for warning him that she was informed some of his servants conveyed letters, and messages, for the Queen of Scots : He expressed his sorrow, that Elizabeth should be displeased, " at his son Gilbert's wife being brought to bed, in his house ; as causing " women, and strangers, to resort there ;" yet he asserted, " that except the midwife, none have, or do come within the " Queen's sight ; and to avoid such resort, *he himself, with* " *two of his children, christened the child.*" Id.

many impediments to their intercourse : Even La Mot Fenelon, the French ambassador, was denied access to her, by Elizabeth's special orders.^o In this forlorn state, the Queen of Scots found her only consolation, in her religion, to which she adhered, and even professed a wish to restore.^p Elizabeth, meantime, received nothing, from her oppressed cousin, with any grace, but her presents.^q Elizabeth's penury seems to have been quite equal to the jealousy of her temper, and the severity of her measures. What ought we to think of a government, wherein the prime minister was afraid to trust his private letters, by the common post. Burghley, himself, detained his private letter to Shrewsbury, about the marriage of his youngest daughter to Shrewsbury's fourth son, a whole week, for a safe bearer : Burghley declined this marriage, for two reasons ; the parties were too

^o Murdin, 288.

^p Calig. C. v. 66 : Ib. c. iii. 485.

^q Shrewsbury, in his letter to Elizabeth, 24th Septemb. stated, that he had related to his prisoner, how graciously his Queen had received the Scottish Queen's presents : But, had the mortification to learn, from Elizabeth, that she had reduced his allowance, for keeping Queen Mary, from £52. to £30. a week, of which he grievously complained. Lodge, ii. 129-30.

young; and chiefly, that it might give rise to jealous suspicions, in the mind of Elizabeth, concerning his connection, with the Scottish Queen.^r

About this time, was changed the French ambassador La Mot Fenelon, for Castelnau de Mauvissiere: And in January 1575-6, this last applied for a passport to send to the Scottish Queen, cloaths, sweatmeats, and letters.^s Mary soon after, wrote to the same ambassador, complaining of her bad health; and desiring him, to procure leave, for her treasurer, to come to her, for settling his accounts of her dowry.^t Secretary Walsingham informed the warden of Mary, in March 1576, the Queen's Majesty was credibly informed, that certain messengers were coming, from Scotland, with letters to Mary; and commanding him "to devise all the best means, to apprehend the messengers, and to intercept the letters."^u Thus watchful were

^r Burghley's letter to Shrewsbury, 24th December 1575, wherein he related the absurd, and extravagant suspicions, which Elizabeth imbibed against him; as having been friendly to the Scottish Queen, on two different occasions of his going to Buxton, in 1573, and 1575. Lodge, ii. 131-3.

^s Calig. C. v. 61.

^t Ib. 65.

^u Lodge, ii. 139: Walsingham to Shrewsbury, 19th Mar. 1575-6.

they to distract, and distress, the unfortunate Queen. The Countess of Shrewsbury, who had been employed, as a spy on Mary, and her own husband, but lost Elizabeth's favour, by marrying her daughter, Cavendish, to Lennox, seems now to have been restored to confidence, and to have been again employed, in her former office.^v Mary, owing to her want of health, from strict confinement, as well as, from constant vexation, was allowed, on the solicitation of the French ambassador, to spend the month of June, at Buxton.^w But, a question arose,

^v Leicester, on the 1st May 1576, wrote to Shrewsbury, in answer to a letter from him, that Elizabeth was pleased the Countess of Shrewsbury should have access, at all times to, and not forbear the company of the Queen of Scots. *Ib.* 148-9. There remains, in the Paper Office, a declaration on oath of the Countess of Shrewsbury, and her two sons, that they had never spread any reports, contrary to the honour of the Queen of Scots : and that they considered such reports to be scandalous, malicious, and false ; particularly, that of the Queen of Scots having had one, or more children, by the Earl of Shrewsbury, the husband of the countess ; and that they were neither the authors, nor propagators of such scandalous reports. What profligacy does not this notorious declaration contain, by necessary implication !

^w There is a letter, from Mary, in the Paper Office, 31st July 1576, to Elizabeth ; thanking her, for enlarging the time of her stay, at the baths ; and requesting her acceptance

before her departure, where she was to be carried. Tutbury was deemed an unfit place, as being unsafe, and defective in provisions; and Elizabeth changed her former orders, and directed Shrewsbury, to carry her back, from Buxton to Sheffield castle.* Elizabeth, however, had her disquiet, as Mary had her vexations: News came to court, in August 1576, that some measures were taken in France, in favour of the Scottish Queen:† And Gregory XIII. sometimes thought of Mary; and wrote Latin letters, which were sure to be intercepted; professing his zeal, for her desperate cause.‡

But, greater matters were now in contemplation, which disquieted the rival Queens. Don John of Austria, with an ambitious mind, and many projects, was induced to dream of conquering England, Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Hebrides; and of marrying

of certain articles of apparel, of the newest fashion; and begging to have one of the Queen's dresses, as a pattern.

* Walsingham to Shrewsbury, 27th June 1576, in Lodge, ii. 149.

† Calig. C. v. 68.

‡ There is an intercepted letter from Mary, 3d August 1575, at Sheffield, to Doctor Allan, at Doway; expressing her opinion in the tone of despair, as to her freedom, and resignation; and declaring her intention (if ever in her power) to restore the Catholic religion. Calig. C. iii. 485.

the Scottish Queen. The wildest ambition could not go beyond such visionary projects. Even Philip II. began to neglect Don John, as a person, *over ambitious*, and to dislike such impracticable projects. Disregarding the late peace, Don John attacked Zealand, supposing England more easily conquered than it. Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange sent Mons. de Famars to Elizabeth, to acquaint her with those projects, particularly, of Don John's purpose, to marry the Scottish Queen.^a Elizabeth, on such an occasion, was not wanting to herself: Burghley was desired to consider of *devices*; as to what might be done with the Queen of Scots.^b It required not the genius of Cecil, to discover how a frail, and forlorn Queen might be destroyed. Good, and Barry, were, meanwhile, committed, for intelligence, with the same Queen.^c Shrewsbury soon after reported to Walsingham several points about Mary, and the practices of her friends.^d In return, Walsingham communicated to Shrewsbury, Elizabeth's permission, for removing the Queen of Scots to Chatsworth;

^a Cecil's Diary, 18th Feb. 1576-7.

^b This paper, in Burghley's hand, remains, in the Brit. Mus. Calig. C. iii. 497.

^c Cecil's Diary, 25th Mar. 1577.

^d Calig. C. v. 73; 26th Apr. 1577.

and Elizabeth's wonder, at Mons. Vergier's long stay with Mary: He was her treasurer, and was, with Mary, to settle his accounts. Elizabeth, however, had some correspondence with Shrewsbury, of a less vexatious sort.^e This noble wanted words to thank Elizabeth enough, for letters of the 25th of June; and still more, for the comfortable message, which she sent the earl, and countess, by Mr. Julio, an Italian physician.^f Burghley, again spent July, and August, 1577, at Buxton; being accommo-

^e She wrote the Earl, and Countess of Shrewsbury, on the 25th June, 1577; thanking them, in very warm terms, for their kindness, to the Earl of Leicester, who had been received, by the countess, at Chatsworth, where she was living alone, and whose diet was discharged, by them, at Buxton: and who, also, received from them a very rare present; for all which she thanked them, as if done to herself; "reputing him, [Leicester,] as another *ourselves*." Elizabeth, moreover, thanked Shrewsbury, and his wife, for their careful looking to their charge. Lodge, 154-5.

^f Ib. 157: Mr. Lodge remarks, of Julio, that he was then, in great estimation with the people of quality, though infamous for his proficiency, in that branch of medical science, which hath so long distinguished his country. The Earl of Leicester, who was perhaps indebted to him, for services of this kind, was excessively attached to him; and through that nobleman's interference, Archbishop Grindal, who had condemned the marriage of Julio to another man's wife, lost the Queen's favour, for ever. Ib. 157. If we

dated with Shrewsbury's house, at that place of fashionable resort. Meanwhile, the Scottish Queen employed herself, in writing letters, which were generally intercepted. She was removed from Sheffield castle to Chatsworth, at the beginning of September. When Burghley, arrived, about the same time, at the court, he found great alarm in the Queen, and council, by news, which had come directly, from France, and the Low Countries, of the Queen of Scots' escape, either already made, or very soon to be attempted.^g In consequence of that alarm, Elizabeth directed Shrewsbury, "to narrow the confinement of Queen Mary.^h" In this manner, went on Elizabeth, and Burghley, from rumours, and suspicions, to narrow the imprisonment of the unhappy Queen, till they confined her, in her coffin.

recollect Burghley's *Devices*, and collate them with the information, in this note, we may easily conjecture what the message must have been, which Julio carried to Mary's prison.

^g Lodge, ii. 163 : Burghley writing the above information to Shrewsbury, recommended the increase of his vigilance : and, he added, "as I think your lordship hath carried your charge to Chatsworth ; so think I that house a very mete place, for good preservation ; having no town of resort, where any ambushes might be laid, and concealed." Id.

^h Calig. C. v. 85

The Bishop of Ross seems to have been indefatigable, on the continent, in raising up friends, for his old mistress, though perhaps, his endeavours, by promoting alarms in England, only injured her.ⁱ Burghley seems to have collected early, in 1578, many letters to, and from, the Bishop of Ross. From them, it appears, that he corresponded with the Archbishop of Glasgow, Queen Mary, Philip, King of Spain, Cardinal Comensis, and the Archbishop of Treves. There was a list, also, of the Scottish nobility, and clergy; distinguishing the party, to which they belonged. Some matters had been represented on her behalf to the Emperor Rudolph.^k Soon after arrived, the Count de Retz, a marshal of France, from the French King, to solicit access to the Queen of Scots, and after seeing her, to go into Scotland. On May-day, he had an audience of Elizabeth, who had hitherto denied his request. At that time, there was with the Scottish Queen, an agent, from the Duke of Aremberg, a sovereign prince

ⁱ In August 1577, she wrote to Dr. Allan; expressing her great zeal for the Catholic faith. Calig. C. v. 80. She wrote several letters to the Archbishop of Glasgow, at Paris, her resident ambassador. Ib. C. iii. 492. She wrote to Beaton, the archbishop's brother, and her *maitre d'hotel*; desiring information, and recommending great caution. Ib. 490.

^k Calig. C. v. 102.

in the Netherlands. The Scottish Queen seems to have now been carried back again, from Chatsworth, to Sheffield castle. And from this seat, she complained to Castelnau de Mauvisiere, of the refusal of passports; upon the principle, no doubt, of narrowing her intercourse.¹

In 1578, on the 10th of March, died, Margaret Countess of Lennox, who survived her husband, and her eight children.^m She had been thrice imprisoned, not for charges of treason, but for matters of love: First, when Thomas Howard, the son of Thomas, the first Duke of Norfolk, being in love with her, died in the Tower; (2) when her son, Darnley, married the Queen of Scots; and (3) when her son, Charles, Earl of Lennox, married Elizabeth Cavendish. The venerable countess lived to know, that the murder of her son, Darnley, was altogether owing to the conspiracy of Murray's faction; and knowing that fact, she became quite reconciled to the Queen of Scots, during five, or six years: and had confessed her sorrow, for the unjust pursuits, which she had carried on against Mary, through the orders of Elizabeth. In this year, also, the authority of

¹ Calig. C. v. 108, the date is the 8th of October 1578.

^m Sandford's Geo. Hist. 525-6-7.

Morton began to decline, in Scotland, when he was deprived of the Regency ; and when Mary's son, at the age of twelve, was admitted to reign, with a council of Nobles, to assist him, by turns.

The Queen, hearing in her prison, that her son had, happily, freed himself, from the Ruthven conspiracy, sent her secretary, Naue, to Stirling, in June, with a kind letter, congratulating him on his freedom, sending him some jewels, and other ornaments : But, as the mother directed her letter to " my loving son, " James, Prince of Scotland," the Privy Council would not suffer her letter to be opened, nor the presents to be received.^o The receiving of his mother's letter, with the tokens of her love, would not have made him less a king, or less a dutiful son.

ⁿ See Mary's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 2d May 1578. Keith's App. 145, which quotes Mem. Scots, T. 11. No. 55. There was a warrant [19th Septemb. 1579] from Mary to Thomas Fowler ; directing him, as sole executor of the late Countess of Lennox, her mother-in-law, to deliver to the Countess of Shrewsbury all such jewels, as the Countess of Lennox had left, in his charge, in trust, for Lady Arabella Stuart, her grand-child, if she attained the age of 14 years, and if not, then for the use of our only son, the Prince of Scotland. In the Paper Office.

^o Walsingham's spy, Arrington, wrote him of this, from Berwick, 23d June 1579. Calig. C. iii. 539. Hist. K. Ja.

But, it was an age of crime, and of general suspicion. *Monsieur*, who had been long endeavouring to soften the obdurate heart of Elizabeth, declined to come into England, "unless pledges were given, for the safety of his person."^p This came of Elizabeth carrying her jealousy, and dissimulation to excess, and of her ministers pushing their artifices too far. The Scottish Queen, who was suffering extremely, under the operation of such guilty passions, wrote to the French ambassador, Mauvissiere; disclaiming some charges, which had been made against her, of having treated with France.^q

The Scottish Queen's health began now to be greatly impaired, by her confinement, and vexation: And, in May 1580, she wrote to Elizabeth, complaining heavily of her hard usage; and desiring that she might be allowed to visit Buxton.^r In the subsequent month, the im-

VI. 274; Spottiswoode, 307. Mary's son was now thirteen; and began to feel, that he was a King.

^p The Archb. of York's letter to Shrewsbury, 14th Oct. 1579: The pledges required were the Earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, Leicester, with several others of high rank. Lodge, ii. 222. ^q Calig. C. iii. 535.

^r The S. Queen dated her letter, from Sheffield, 2d May 1580, *the second year of her imprisonment*; meaning, probably, her strict confinement. Calig. C. vi. 22. ^s Ib. 49.

prisoned Queen again wrote to Elizabeth; exculpating herself; complaining of her enemies; and desiring *to go to the bath*.^{*} Elizabeth, by encouraging too much the whole system of stories, and lies, misrepresentations, and suspicions, not only injured herself, but carried her rigours against Mary, and Shrewsbury, to extravagant lengths.^{*} The Scottish Queen set out, for Buxton, on the 26th of July, and arrived there, on the 28th; though she met with an accident, at setting out; her horse started, when she was in the act of mounting, and the Queen fell, and hurt her back, of which she complained, for some time. But, it was in vain, to use the waters of Buxton, while she was restrained, from taking the air. Shrewsbury,

^{*} There is a letter from T. Bawdewyn to Shrewsbury, 1st July 1580; informing him, that Elizabeth is *resolute* against his going to Chatsworth with the Scottish Queen. Lodge, ii. 234-5. Shrewsbury soon after expressed his sorrow to Burghley, that having solicited Elizabeth for leave, to carry the Q. of Scots to Buxton, and Chatsworth, this point should have been so much disliked, by the Queen's majesty: He now complained of Elizabeth's grudging, and delaying payment of his allowance, for keeping the Q. of Scots. Ib. 236. He repeated his complaints, on the 26th of July, in a more energetick tone. And, succeeded, at least, in being allowed, to carry the Queen of Scots to Buxton. Ib. 237—39.

literally, complied with Elizabeth's commands, in restraining all resort to this place ; so that she neither saw, nor was seen, by any except her own people : she hath not, he said, come forth of the house, since her coming, nor shall not before her parting." The Scottish Queen was carried back to Sheffield, after awhile ; as Elizabeth would not consent, to their residence at Chatsworth.

Scotland was disquieted, in 1580, by the outcries, which were raised against the King's favourite, Lennox. The jealousy of Elizabeth fastened on him, as a French spy, who was sent to delude the King. She dispatched Sir Robert Bowes to Edinburgh, for the purpose of removing

▪ Shrewsbury's letter to Burghley of the 9th August 1580. He again lamented his griefs, and considered himself, hardly, dealt with, after twelve years faithful services, that her majesty should grudge, and restrain his allowance, which was already not half sufficient. Lodge, ii. 239-40. Yet, was he not successful. Murdin, 346.

▼ Shrewsbury continued his complaints to Burghley. He again solicited, for leave to reside at Chatsworth, on account of the sickness that had been, in his house, at Sheffield. He lamented, that Elizabeth's distrust should be so great, that she would not allow him the comfort of seeing his children ; and that she gave ear to the most unfounded calumnies, which were conveyed to her, by his enemies, of his *allowing the Scottish Queen to be seen.* Lodge, ii. 247.

Lennox, from the councils, and presence of the King: But, the ambassador's representation was distrusted; and he was desired to show his instructions: Bowes found such a spirit, at Edinburgh, in opposition to Elizabeth's influence, that he returned to Berwick, without effecting his purpose. The King, on his part, sent Alexander Hume to the court of Elizabeth; to excuse what had passed, and to learn what the imminent dangers were, which Bowes had pressed so strongly. Elizabeth refused to see Hume; but, as she suspected, that her influence was on the wane, in Scotland; she referred the Scottish envoy to Burghley, who gave him a lecture on the advantages, that result, from good neighbourhood, and on the many benefits, which would be the effects of subservience to her, whose wisdom bears command. Yet, this lecture did not prevent the impeachment, on the 31st of December 1580, of Morton, Elizabeth's agent, in Scotland, for the murder of the late King.

At the beginning of the year 1581, the Scottish Queen seems to have been, chiefly, occupied in forming a commission to the Duke of Guise; appointing him her lieutenant, and plenipotentiary, in a negotiation, between her and her son. This document, was undoubtedly, intercepted. But, it is not easy to decide,

whether it occasioned, an immediate measure, by Elizabeth.^w Whatever there may be in this, certain it is, that she issued, on the 17th of January 1581, a commission, and instructions, to Lord Shrewsbury, Sir Henry Nevil, and Sir William Pelham, for removing the Scottish Queen, from Sheffield castle, to Ashby-de-la-zouch, in Leicestershire, where Nevil, and Pelham were to take charge of her ; and Shrewsbury to repair to court, with the whole of her writings, which they were directed to seize, by force.^x From the epoch of Mary's arrival, at Carlisle, to the date of that commission, there was, scarcely, a moment, in which there was not some plot, either feigned, or real, for the freedom of the one Queen, and the disturbance of the other. And it is equally clear, that Elizabeth, constantly thought, that she had every power over Mary's person ; while Mary had no power over Elizabeth : And Elizabeth seems to have completely forgotten, that there was not a conspiracy against the Queen of Scots, from the demise of Francis II. to her expulsion, from Scotland, in which Elizabeth was

^w An original in French, Calig. C. iii. 569-70.

^x Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 351-5 : and all sheriffs, and other officers, were required to be aiding and assisting, to those men, and measures.

not concerned against Mary: Neither were there a murderer, a traitor, a rebel, who fled, from Scotland, to England, that Elizabeth did not protect. Add to those intimations, that when the wise Lord Burghley, sat down to write formal reasons, to justify the Scottish Queen's imprisonment, he found it too hard a task, for his wisdom, and experience; so that he cast the responsibility of the violence offered her upon inferior agents, who felt the injustice done to themselves, without questioning the rights of their mistress. At this time, Elizabeth, had her envoy Randolph, in Scotland, attempting to raise a rebellion, in order to protect her agent, Morton, one of the most guilty miscreants on earth. From all those facts, it is apparent, that Elizabeth, and her ministers, considered every thing convenient to themselves, to be consistent with law, and agreeable to morals, without regarding the wrongs of the Queen of Scots. It does not appear, however, that the purpose of appointing those commissioners, was then executed against the persecuted Queen, who still remained, in Shrewsbury's charge, to his great vexation, and her wrong.^y Elizabeth persevered, in denying that

^y Shrewsbury wrote to Elizabeth; complaining of the stoppage of the payment of his allowance, for keeping the

eminent noble even common justice, which reduced him to the inconvenience of selling his plate.^a The Queen of Scots complained of the badness of her diet : and Shrewsbury avowed, that his allowance being cut off, he could afford her no better.^a

In the midst of those complaints, and changes, recriminations, and apologies, the Scottish Queen was carried, from Sheffield to Chatsworth. At the beginning of July 1581, she seems to have busied herself, in writing to the archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris, concerning the renewment of the ancient confederacy, between Scotland, and France, and about what was of more importance, *her dowry*, which was said to be in the hands of her Secretary Naue.^b She also wrote to George Douglas, desiring him, to induce her son, openly, to espouse her cause.^c Thus was she occupied in July 1581 ;

Queen of Scots ; and beseeching the Queen's majesty, that he might not be injured, by any abatement of his allowance. Lodge, ii. 244-5, with the editor's note ; reprehending Elizabeth's contradictoriness, and dissimulation.

^a Ib. 250-251-2.

^a Ib. 253.

^b Calig. C. ix. 1. ; Ib. vii. 218.

^c Ib. Ib. viii. 313. The Queen's letter, from her son, 17th Aug. 1581 ; acknowledging the receipt of the letters, from Chatsworth, and expressing his satisfaction, at hearing she enjoyed better health, than she did the last year, was intercepted.

and we might expect, that her occupations would chiefly consist, in trying, by every possible means of regaining her liberty, and her health.^d

Meantime, Elizabeth, and her ministers were much engaged, in deciding, to what prison to remove the Queen of Scots; and in resolving what to decide, finally, with regard to her; but Elizabeth could not be brought to any positive resolution, on subjects, that seemed to derange her intellect.^e Such were the difficulties, which arose, from acting on wrong principles.

^d There remains the copy of a letter, from Paris, containing an answer, of some negotiations there, by George Douglas; and copies of letters to him, from the Scottish King, from the Queen of Scots, and from the Earl of Lennox, 9th Septemb. 1581. Ib. vi. 159.

^e There remains, in the Paper Office, a letter from Burghley to Walsingham, dated, from Windsor, the 10th September 1581, which is curious in itself, and illustrates the gloomy temperament of Elizabeth's mind; Burghley informed Walsingham, " that the council had been three days
" deliberating about the Scottish Queen, but had come to no
" conclusion; being as variable as the weather: For, her
" majesty would come to no determination, on any one
" point; so they left off talking, from weariness, and the
" Queen had postponed all till some future time. They were
" long deliberating to what place the Scottish Queen should
" be brought, where she, and her cause might be heard: The
" Tower was rejected: The council then, unanimously recom-
" mended *Hertford castle*, which the Queen consented to, for

As the Queen of Scots' anxieties constantly preyed upon her spirit, she was soon taken so ill, as to be obliged to keep her bed. In this sad condition was she visited, by Beal, the clerk of the privy council, who had been sent to Sheffield; to obtain answers, from her, to many questions. She now said to him, that she wished, by all means, to recover Elizabeth's favour, if his mistress would give her an opportunity. She desired earnestly, to have the benefit of the air, sometimes, not that she would be at large; but in order to recover herself, from that weakness of body, which the want of air had brought upon her whole frame. She added, that though she was not old in years [39,] she found herself old, in body; and her hair had turned gray; so that she could never think of another husband.^f Beal had another

“ *one whole day*, and then changed her mind; saying it was
 “ too near London: Then Fotheringay was mentioned, which
 “ she said was too far off: Then, successively, Grafton,
 “ Woodstock, Northampton, Coventry, and Huntingdon,
 “ all of which were rejected, either for want of strength, or
 “ conveniency. The Parliament will probably be dissolved,
 “ the next day, and a new one summoned, for the 10th of
 “ October; but, the Queen wishes the hearing of the Sco-
 “ tish Queen's cause to be finished before that day; and
 “ nothing to be done till her removal be determined on.”

^f Beal's letter, from Sheffield, 17th November 1581.
 Harl. MSS. 290.

conversation with her, a few days after, when Naue, her secretary, was present. She desired Elizabeth to send her some physicians, and surgeons, to consult with those attending her, about her distempers, and the cure of them. She talked about the marriage of her son, with the King of Navarre's sister: and she desired Elizabeth would speak to *Monsieur*, who was then in England; that she might have the rents of Senlis paid to her, which estate had been given her, in lieu of the Duchy of Touraine, formerly vested in her, but afterwards given to *him*.^g Beal had two other conversations with the Queen of Scots, some days after, who was still in bed, but somewhat better. She now wished, for the liberty of sending into Scotland, with the consent of Elizabeth, regarding several matters, which concerned the weal of both realms: But, this was deferred, from an apprehension of treachery. And, Beal had not yet proceeded to the matter, contained, in the second part of his instructions; to show the Scottish Queen her letter, which she had written in cypher, during the northern rebellion, to the Bishop of Glasgow.^h This last in-

^g Beal's letter, 23d Novemb. Harl. MSS, 290, fo. 135.

^h Beal's letter of the 28th Novemb. 1581. from Sheffield, in MSS. Harl. 290, fo. 137.

struction proceeded upon the principle of Elizabeth's letter, on Palm Sunday 1572, wherein she had said, "that the Queen of Scots's head should never be quiet." Whatever may have been the end of those conversations, particularly, the Queen's promise not to transfer her rights, in Scotland, without Elizabeth's knowledge, every stipulation was made, on certain conditions, though Beal construed them, as absolute: Mary, in her famous letter to Elizabeth, of the 8th of November 1582, desired her good cousin "not to give credit to the suggestions of Beal; I promised nothing, but under certain conditions, to which I am not bound, except they be performed, by you." This was a very common artifice, in the school of Elizabeth, to regard conditional engagements, as absolute.

Meantime, Elizabeth found what, no doubt, irritated such a temper as hers, that her wisdom, her artifices, and her arms, were unable to save the guilty Morton, from the punishment, that was due to his crimes. She sent Randolph to Edinburgh, to use his accustomed arts. She directed a body of troops, to approach the frontiers of Scotland. Randolph bearded the King, and his council: But, they remained firm. He cajoled the nobles; who were not captivated. He preached to the Estates; laying

before them some letters, which were attributed to Lennox ; and which Elizabeth's ministers said they had intercepted, though the better opinion was, that they had forged them, for the occasion, of charging him, with promoting the invasion of England.ⁱ And, Randolph used every artifice, to make an impression, in favour of the guilty Morton, till finding, at length, that he himself was not quite safe, at Edinburgh, this corrupt agent, privately, withdrew to Berwick. On the 1st of June 1581, Morton was convicted, by the assize, of murdering the late king. On the morrow, he was executed, by decapitation, for that heinous offence ; as there was no doubt of his guilt, which he indeed acknowledged.^k The wretch

ⁱ Spottiswoode, 312 : Those letters were, afterwards, proved to be forgeries ; as the historian remarked : Whoever makes use of forged documents must be supposed, to be the forger of them.

^k Moyse's Mem. 53-4. On the 29th of November 1581, an act of Parliament passed, confirming the proceedings against Morton. Acta Parl. iii. 227. He made a confession before the clergy, attending him, at his execution, of which there are several editions ; but, the best is in the App. to Bannatyne's Journal. He confessed, that Bothwell, and Maitland, came to him, at Whittingham, for the purpose of concerting the King's death, which he never revealed. This is a very important fact ; as it avows a conspiracy of nobles, for effecting that wicked deed. It is much to be lamented,

died with falsehood, in his throat. The execution of Morton made a great impression upon Elizabeth ; as she felt, that she had thus lost her agent, with her influence, in that kingdom, which she had reduced to dependence, by her artifices. In this manner, died, by a stroke of justice, the last of the great complotters, for the death of Darnley. But, though the Queen of Scots knew nothing of the prosecution, which brought this guilty miscreant to the block ; yet, did Elizabeth avenge his fate, with a perversity, peculiar to herself, on her unfortunate captive.

that the clergy attending him, did not perceive the importance of making that guilty character confess, or deny, whether he found, or forged, the boxful of supposititious letters, which the said conspirators attributed to the Queen.

SECTION XVI.

*From Morton's Execution, till King James's
Escape from Ruthven.*

TOWARDS the end of 1581, the Scottish Queen's health seemed past recovery; owing to her want of air, and exercise, and to her continual vexation, and daily woe: So that "nature oppressed, and harassed out with care, almost sunk down to rest." In the midst of this distress, and that disease, Beal, the clerk of the Privy Council, constantly attended upon her, with enquiries, and questions, from Burghley's suggestion. Even Beal, who was not of a very melting mood, seeing the situation she was in, recommended, "that the restraint on her should be relaxed, and that she should be allowed to have the coach, made for her, by the French ambassador; but, intimated, that previously to granting any such indulgence, some acknowledgement of her Majesty's title should be procured for her, similar to what was agreed on, by the treaty of Edinburgh, 1560."¹ But, what confirmation did

¹ Beal's letter to Burghley, 17th Novemb. 1581, in the Paper Office. How unjust! The Scottish Queen did not

the one queen want, or could the other give? Elizabeth was in possession, with the law on her side, and Mary did not dispute her right. Beal, however, added, in a subsequent letter to Burghley, “that he really knew not what to
 “advise, *she is so wily*; but, she is, certainly,
 “very ill, and so weak, that she is not able to
 “stand, or to be out of bed; she is, continually,
 “taking medicines, and using poultices, and
 “throws up abundance of phlegm.”^m These representations seem to have had some effect; as it was obvious, that a little rigour might have pushed her from the dreary stage. Elizabeth allowed, that the Queen of Scots might take airings, in her carriage, with proper precautions.ⁿ

dispute Elizabeth's title: She had only refused, to enter into a stipulation, that she would not claim the English crown, after Elizabeth's demise, without *legitimate* issue.

^m Beal to Burghley, 23d Novemb. 1581, in the Paper Office.

ⁿ Shrewsbury's letter to Walsingham, 6th Jan. 1581-2, in the Paper Office; assuring him, “he had always taken
 “every means to prevent strangers, from having access to
 “her, when she was not out of doors, and would continue
 “to do so: She had not been out yet; as she was still very
 “weak, but, free from pain.” Shrewsbury informed Walsingham, on the 21st Jan. 1581-2, with the sudden death of his daughter Lennox, that morning; and earnestly intreating the Queen's favour to her orphan child, *his grand-daughter, the Lady Arabella Stewart.*

The meeting of Parliament, in 1582, was connected with the Scottish Queen ; as we may recollect, from Burghley's remarkable letter to Walsingham, in September 1581. In it, were enacted new, and more severe laws, against the papists ; supposing that avowed persecution was wiser policy, than conciliatory forbearance. But, prejudice was the ruling passion of Elizabeth, of her court, of her people.^o The Scottish Queen, however, did not allow the meeting of that Parliament, to pass unheeded by her. She sent up "a declaration of her right to the succession of the crown of England, to be presented to Elizabeth, and with her permission, to the lords, and commons."^p

While this attempt was made to terrify the papists, by pains, and penalties, and Mary presented her *declaration*, a fourth negotiation was entered into with the Scottish Queen, under the conduct of the respectable Mildmay : But,

^o Camden, 272.

^p Murdin, 366 ; Calig. C. ix. 78 ; Cecil's Diary. There is a letter from Doctor Wilson, at court, 31st January 1581-2 : wherein he intimates, that he had sent along with it a packet for Queen Mary, from the French ambassador, who told him, that it contained no matter of moment : And Wilson adds, I think, he would, hardly, trust me, with any dangerous matter : *There is no dealing, for succession ; being, expressly forbid ;* Lodge, ii. 250.

it is quite apparent, from the management of so many treaties, that Elizabeth's object was, "to keep the word of promise to her ear, and "break it to her hope."^a

Shrewsbury, also, was ruined in his temper,

^a Strype's Ann. iii. from certain notes, in Burghley's hand: But, the present treaty was suspended upon a *rumour* of some *practices*, in Scotland: And, when it was discovered, that the Duke of Guise intended, against the consent of the King of France, to invade England. But, was this likely? France durst not invade England. In 1583, continues Strype, from some papers of Burghley, Shrewsbury, and Beal, were appointed, by Elizabeth, to deal with the Scottish Queen, in another treaty, with a *promise* to return to her Sir Walter Mildmay, "if she would discover certain practices against Elizabeth, which Mary pretended to know:" While this treaty was, in hand, adds Strype, *by the Scottish Queen's procurement*, Lennox, and Fernyherst, and Sir James Balfour, were brought into Scotland: And so, the treaty was broken off. All those men came into Scotland, the year before, without the procurement of the Queen; so this pretence was unfounded. In 1584, says Strype, from the same papers, another treaty was entered into with Naue, Mary's secretary, at which time, the practices of Parry were discovered; and so, the treaty ceased: And, thus Burghley inferred, from those premises, that the Scottish Queen never entered into any treaty, but only of purpose to abuse her majesty. If Burghley had said this of the *English Queen*, he had been quite right, as a thousand facts evince. From all those treaties, it appears to have been the design of Elizabeth, and Burghley, to break the heart of the Scottish Queen, *by the deadly poison of hope deferred*.

in his health, and in his interests, *by hope deferred*. He kept up *a continual claim* upon Elizabeth, for his diminished allowance, and for such a charge, and for the keeping of 40 soldiers, daily, in his house.^r In a letter to his agent at court, Thomas Bawdewyn, he expresses his anxiety, for his suit: “ I have been moved, “ to take into my service Lady Lennox’s men ; “ but, specially, Nelson, and his wife, but have “ refused them : *I have too many spies in my “ house already, and mind, to make choice of “ others, I may trust.*”^s

At the beginning of April 1582, commenced the treaty, with the Scottish Queen, which has been already mentioned, for the odious purpose of deluding the unhappy captive.^t Mary began

^r Lodge, ii. 255-6. Shrewsbury’s allowance, at this time was, only £1560. a year, which was paid quarterly.

^s Ib. 257. We thus see, that Elizabeth’s ministers recommended servants to noblemen ; in order to convert them into spies : and see Shrewsbury’s letter to Burghley, 2d Mar. 1581-2. Ib. 261.

^t See Beal’s *private* letter to Shrewsbury, of the 2d of April 1582, and an *ostensible* letter, from Beal to Shrewsbury, to be shown to the Scottish Queen ; in order to induce her to comply with Elizabeth’s desires, without committing Elizabeth, by any personal promise, to perform the conditions, on her part. Lodge, ii. 262-72 ; and see Lodge’s notes, 263-7 ; exposing the baseness, and treachery, of the Queen’s majesty.

now to correspond with her son, as often as her wardens would allow her. On the 16th of April, she wrote him, in French; expressing her affection; and desiring his attention to Elizabeth.^u The object of the Scottish Queen seems to have been, to confirm to him a legitimate right to the crown, as she had hitherto considered it, to be, merely, supposititious. She seems, to have found means, through France, of engaging Lennox, and Arran, the two favourites of the youthful King, to concur, in this project, to which they saw no strong objection, whatever Elizabeth may have felt.^v King James certainly wrote to his mother, soon after; expressing his duty, and desiring to hear further from her; though it may have been intercepted.^w

Owing to the before-mentioned causes, the

^u Calig. C. vii. 1.

^v There remains, in the Brit. Mus. Calig. C. vii. 7, a letter, from Sir Henry Widdrington, 26th May, at Berwick, to Secretary Walsingham; mentioning with other intelligence, from Scotland, “the project of Lennox, and Arran, to make the King resign the crown to his mother, and then to receive it back, from her.” In Mary’s famous letter to Elizabeth, of the 8th of Novemb. 1582, she says, “that not long since, she had determined, to confirm the kingdom to her son, lawfully.”

^w French letter, 17th June 1582. Calig. C. vii. 12. Being found, in the Cotton library, we may conclude, that James’s letter to his mother had been intercepted.

Scotish Queen became so bad, that the waters of Buxton were prescribed, when every other remedy had failed. About the middle of June 1582, she was carried to Buxton; "Lord Cumberland, and the rest of the company being departed."^x She remained here, till the second week, in July: but, did not enjoy the full benefit of such an excursion, and residence; as she was not allowed to ride, or walk out. When she departed, she took her leave, in this distich; being Cæsar's verses upon Feltria, which were applied, by her, to Buxton:

Buxtona quæ calidæ celebrabere nomine lymphæ,
Fortè mihi posthac non adeunda, vale.

Buxton, whose fame thy baths shall ever tell,
Which I, perhaps, shan't see again, farewell.^y

There soon after ensued a correspondence, between Elizabeth and Mary, in which the former took much amiss, that the Scotch Queen should have also written to the Privy Council.

^x Shrewsbury's letter to Burghley, 12th June, 1582. Lodge, ii. 271.

^y Camden's Brit.: Shrewsbury's letter to Bawdewyn, 12th July, from Sheffield, shows, that the Queen, and her warden, had returned to Sheffield castle. He complained, "that he had spies near about him, and knew them well [his wife perhaps;] but, if they said truly, I could better endure it." Lodge, ii. 275.

Walsingham was directed to write a querulous letter, on this misunderstanding, to Shrewsbury, who mentioned the matter to Mary. The Scottish Queen answered him, with her usual distinctness, and dignity : That she had never conceived, for a moment, that the privy counsellors possessed any part of her dignity, or power ; but, being often told, by the French ambassador, as an excuse for not answering her letters, sooner, that they had been referred to the privy council, she had thought it might facilitate the business to write to that body, in the first instance. Elizabeth, who had been flattered almost into frenzy, received this exposition with a bad grace : and would not consent, that the Queen-mother should correspond, directly, with her son ; as he had shown some want of deference to that domineering sovereign :² And, Elizabeth soon made the Scottish King feel, that he must not affect to be independent on her, who did not admit the greatest kings to be her equals.

Elizabeth never forgave, nor forgot, the punishment of Morton, for his crimes, in opposition to her influence, and her power. By her constant intrigues, she maintained an English faction among the Scottish nobles, who were

² Lodge, ii, 275—9—77—80-1.

easily persuaded, that whatever conspiracy they might form against James, or his ministers, they would be protected, in England. They wanted not pretences, or inclination, to effect their own designs, and Elizabeth's wishes. The Earl of Mar, Lord Lindsay, Lord Boyd, and other persons of that faction, with Earl Gowry, at their head, took advantage of the absence, from court, of Lennox, and Arran, to invite the King, who was now turned of sixteen, to Ruthven castle, in Perthshire, where they forcibly restrained his person, on the 22d of August 1582; and soon made him feel, that he no longer enjoyed the independence of a king. They not only changed his ministers, and his measures; but, they obliged him, in all things, to submit to their dictates, and to hear, from the church assembly, and the convention of estates, that the acts of their treason were legal, and fit. Elizabeth, hearing of the success of her own suggestions, sent envoys to the King; advising him to take in good part, this *godly enterprize*, and to restore the Earl of Angus, who had been expatriated, in England, since the execution of Morton. The King did not free himself, from this treasonous domination, till the subsequent summer; when he obtained his liberty, by greater efforts of address, and vigour, than he was supposed to possess.

When Mary heard, in her prison, of those events, and of her son's degradation, and danger, she became so dangerously ill, that her English physicians supposed, and said, she would die. She, meantime, recollected, forcibly, her own misfortunes, which she suffered, in the same country, from the same faction. She remembered, keenly, all the miseries, which she had so long endured, in the prisons of Elizabeth: And feeling, with the sensibilities of a mother, the sufferings of a son, her cares, her agitations, and her anguish, were mitigated, only, by her frequent tears, and final resolution, to communicate her wrongs, and her sufferings, to Elizabeth, in a letter, which displayed, at once, her acuteness, and ability, her dignified spirit, and intrepid temperament:^a She sent it, by Mauvissiere, to the Queen's Majesty. Mary

^a The above letter, which was dated the 8th of November, not the 28th, of 1582, as Whitaker, mistakingly, supposed, has been published by him with the original, in French. *Vindication*, iii. App, No. xvii. It was abstracted by Camden; and was afterwards translated, from the French to the English, and from the English to the French. This letter, says Whitaker, shows Elizabeth to us, as we had seen her before, but with additional evidence, mean, tyrannical, insidious, and savage. *Ib.* 625. The original letter, in French, is in *Calig. C.* vii. 51. This letter is referred to, by Lodge, ii. 267—77; and which he says well deserves the

may have received some consolation, from a letter, which the Duchess of Guise, wrote her, on the 28th of October : acquainting her, that the King of France had sent Mons. de La Mott to England, and Scotland :^b And from another letter, on the 29th of October, from the Queen-mother, which expressed her kindness.^c Mary had now the consolation of seeing, that the French court, seriously interested themselves in her affairs : And their great object was, to induce the Scottish King, to receive his mother, as an associate in his government : But, when the French ambassador arrived, in Scotland, he found the King a sort of prisoner, in the hands of Gowry, and his treasonous associates.

Mary's letter to Elizabeth made a great sensation, which was so unexpected, in its matter, and so able in its manner. Various measures were proposed to be taken upon it, both rigorous, and moderate :^d But, whatever might be

attention of those, who would obtain a clear knowledge of Mary's true character, and of Elizabeth's detestable conduct towards her, in the last years of her imprisonment.

^b Calig. C. vii. 49.

^c Ib. 50.

^d Walsingham wrote to Burleigh, 16th Novemb. 1582 ; advising rigorous proceedings, in consequence of Mary's letter. Calig. C. vii. 60. Henry Kylligrew wrote to Burleigh, 18th Novemb. 1582, the purport of his two messages to the

the wisdom and energy of Elizabeth's ministers, they could not answer, satisfactorily, the Queen of Scots's letter : For, the original wrong of her imprisonment could not be defended, by any principles. The continuation of that wrong, for more than a dozen of dreary years, was only an aggravation of an unjustifiable outrage.

After all those preparations, Elizabeth endeavoured, to free herself, from the disquietude, which the letter of Mary created, by sending Beal, the usual messenger, on such occasions, a man, uncivil in his manners, to expostulate, sharply, with the Scottish Queen, for her letters of complaint. He was entrusted with a further commission. He was joined with Shrewsbury, to negotiate with the imprisoned Queen, about her enlargement. But, this treaty, like all former ones, was merely intended to raise hopes, which were not gratified.

La Mott, the French ambassador, who arrived in London, during October, was chiefly

Q. of Scots, on the birth of her son, and the death of her husband. *Ib.* 62. In the same depository, there are extracts of the Queen of Scots' grievances, and the answers made to the same. *Ib.* 136 ; and *Julius F.* vi. 30. The Scottish Queen, on her side, wrote, on the 3d of Decemb. 1582, from Sheffield, to Mons. de Mauvissiere, concerning her late application to Elizabeth ; and desiring him, to confer, about it, with Mons. De la Mott. *Calig.* vii. 64.

instructed, to endeavour to obtain the association of the Scottish Queen, in the government, with her son. He was amused, during several months, while the ministers endeavoured, to obtain the secret of his commission. It was, at length, resolved to allow him to go into Scotland, on condition, that Davison should accompany him, and associate himself with Elizabeth's minister, Bowes, at Edinburgh. Such were the jealousy, and artifices of the English court. Mons. de La Mott, on the 21st of December, wrote to the Scottish Queen; notifying his mission to her son.^e

The French ambassador, on his road to Scotland, met Lenoir, near Northallerton, about the 30th of December; when they enlightened each other, on the wretched state of that country. De La Mott, and Davison, the spy, upon him, soon after arrived, at Edinburgh; and had a public audience of the King, before the English ambassador. There were now so many eyes fixed upon de La Mott, and so much secret service money, in distribution, that the secret of this embassy was discovered before it was communicated to the King, on the 20th of January 1582-3.^f When Elizabeth, at length,

^e Calig. C. vii. 66.

^f On the 29th of January 1582-3, William Fowler, who,

learned this secret, her indignation knew no bounds, that any other person, than herself, should practise the accomplishment of dissimulation. She wrote to Bowes, and Davison, on the 29th of January; commanding them to advertise the Scottish King, that since La Mott had been sent into Scotland, with another commission, than what he pretended; that as he has, since his arrival there, presumed to give the King such advice, as if he (a stranger) were to direct the polity of that realm; and as the King has declared, that in all important affairs, he will steer himself, by her advice; she counsels the King, to dispatch La Mott, from thence, as soon as may be, and promises him further assistance, upon all occasions.^g The

then acted, as a spy of Walsingham, sent the secretary intelligence of the secret of De la Mott's mission, which amounted to this: The association of the King, and his mother, in the government of Scotland. Calig. C. vii. 78. The English ambassadors, Bowes, and Davison, also, discovered this secret. Ib. 80.

^g Harl. MSS. 291, fo. 44; and there is another copy of that characteristick epistle, in No. 6986, same MSS. fo. 22: It seems to be a copy of the same letter, written with an erroneous date, of *the 13th of January*, which is printed in Murdin, 372—4. This epistle is sufficiently arrogant, and abundantly inimical to the Scottish Queen. There is, also, a letter, from Secretary Walsingham, of the same date, to the same ambassadors; requiring them, to charge the King of

King was now scarcely seventeen; and he was in the hands of a treasonous faction, consisting chiefly of the old plotters against his mother. De La Mott, though he was disappointed, in his chief object, was civilly treated; and left Edinburgh, on his return, on the 10th of February 1583: the other French ambassador, Mons. Mazenville, remained, at Edinburgh, as resident Minister. About the same time, Bowes, and Davison, reported to Walsingham their negotiations, and their endeavours, to counteract De La Mott.^h Soon after, Elizabeth, and her ministers, took into consideration the whole negotiation;ⁱ and seem to have felicitated themselves, that they had prevailed, in their negotiations at Edinburgh; and disappointed the hopes of the Scottish Queen.

Scots, and Mons. La Mott, about the overture, for associating his mother with him, according to the tenor of the Queen's letter, which they might have better done of themselves, *but for fear of discovering those Scots, who revealed that important secret to them.* Walsingham expressed his fears of the French gaining their ends, in Scotland, by the force of money, which he finds her majesty loth to distribute there. Harl. MSS. 291, fo. 83.

^h Calig. C. vii. 85. There was another letter from them, on the 18th of February, on the same subjects. Ib. 91.

ⁱ Ib. 96—98: And there was a letter from Secretary Walsingham of the 27th of February to Bowes and Davison; acquainting them what had passed, between Elizabeth, and

But, they could not so easily answer Mary's energetic letter of grievances, which Mauvissiere, pressed upon them, in April 1583. But, in order to amuse the injured Queen, negotiation, after negotiation, ensued, till the 17th of June, when Mildmay wrote to Burghley, "that he left the Queen of Scots, with some difficulty to believe, that the treaty would proceed towards a match for her, when she had passed forty-one."^k It was much more easy, for Elizabeth, to prompt her guilty faction, in Scotland, to raise a violent outcry against the association of Mary, with her son, in his government. James VI, young as he was, freed himself, on the 28th of January 1583, from the thraldom of Elizabeth's faction, which had endured, since his insidious capture, at Ruthven castle, on the 23d of August 1582. The Earl of Gowry was pardoned, by the King's clemency, or weakness: But, continuing his traitorous practices, he was arrested at Dundee; and being tried, for his treasons, and found guilty, he was executed, as in cases of high treason, aggravated, as his case was, by a thousand crimes and a thousand pardons.^l To

La Mott, after his return from Scotland; when the Queen seems to have rather outdone the ambassador, in his own art.

^k Harley MSS. No. 6993, Art. 25.

^l Spottiswoode, 325—32. That wretched noble was con-

this miscreant was traced the boxful of supposititious papers, which Morton swore he had found, though they were, certainly, forged, by the skilful hand of Secretary Maitland. But, whether they went, from Gowry has not yet been discovered. This wretched noble was the son of that Lord Ruthven, who stabbed Rizzio, in the Queen's closet ; and soon after died of a consumption, in England : The present character was the father of that Earl Gowry, who, having been restored, by King James, to his estate, and honours, attempted in August 1600, within Gowry-house, in Perth, to assassinate the same King ; but was slain, in the very act, by Sir John Ramsey. Of this last Gowry, whose estate was annexed to the crown, and his sur-

cerned in the assassination of Rizzio, as master of Ruthven ; and after finding shelter, in England, was pardoned by Mary, as one of Morton's associates : He afterwards went into the insurrection, with the same Morton, which dethroned Mary. He was one of her wardens, in Lochleven castle. He came, with Lord Lindsay, to the coronation of James, when he swore, contrary to the fact, that she had resigned her crown, voluntarily : He was created Earl of Gowry, in August 1581 ; and being the principal actor, in the capture of James, was, however, pardoned by him : And going again into similar courses of treason, he was executed at Stirling, on the 4th of May 1584.

name of Ruthven abolished, by Parliament, we may say with MILTON,

“ _____ Man disobeying,
Disloyal breaks his fealty; and sins
Against the high supremacy of heaven :
To expiate his treason hath nought left.”

SECTION XVII.

*From King James's Escape from Ruthven, till
Mary's Removal to Tutbury.*

THE Scottish Queen's celebrated letter of the 8th of November 1582, made some impression on the court of Elizabeth, as a representation of grievances. And, what was deemed an answer was sent to her, in the beginning of the year 1583. But, the chief complaint, Why do you detain me, in prison? was not answered, and could not be satisfactorily answered.

On the former policy of amusing, deluding, or entrapping the captive Queen, Beal was again sent to Sheffield, at the beginning of April 1583. He had long interviews with her: But, what advice to give, this able man knew not, "between the craftiness of the Scottish Queen, and the *irresolution*, and *suspicion*, of her majesty." In the course of the conversation, the Scottish Queen remarked to Beal, "that her majesty was now growing old, as well as herself;"^m and it was time the succession should be fixed; and if her majesty

^m Elizabeth was 50; and Mary 41.

“ would grant her liberty, she would solemnly
 “ pledge herself, that neither she, nor her son,
 “ would, by faction, or invasion, set up any claim
 “ to the crown, but would leave the whole to be
 “ arranged, by Parliament. She utterly denied
 “ having any participation in plots, or know-
 “ ledge of them : She demanded her liberty, but
 “ not absolutely ; as she was willing to continue
 “ in her majesty’s custody, in a house of her
 “ own, with a nobleman to attend her ; and she
 “ would give any security, or enter into any
 “ obligation, for her good conduct.” The
 Queen, in continuance, said, her only object
 now in life was, to be reconciled to her majesty :
 “ that the chief of the Scottish nobility, Lindsay,
 “ Gowry, Lochleven, Mar, and Angus, were
 “ not to be trusted :” She added, “ she knew
 “ her son was too cunning to declare himself
 “ openly, but she doubted not his affection for
 “ herself, however much he might dissemble.”
 At this period,ⁿ Beal reported the Queen to be
 much better in health, since her majesty sent
 the physicians down ; “ she is able, to go up,
 “ and down, though she still complains of her
 “ legs, and hips, and is getting rather bloated.”^o

ⁿ April 1583.

^o Beal’s letters to Walsingham, in the Paper Office, April 1583.

The long conversations of Beal, with the Queen of Scots, ended in a treaty with her, on the loose intimations, which were then thrown out. The Queen complained, that Beal took, *absolutely*, what she had said, *conditionally*. Mildmay was now joined to Shrewsbury, as negotiators with the Scottish Queen; Beal being conjoined, to give them advice, and assistance. The month of May 1583, saw this treaty begin, and end, like all former ones. Elizabeth thought fit, to suspend the treaty, till she sent an envoy to King James, to explain the matter to him.^p The Scottish Queen objected to this separate communication; and upon the advice of Mildmay the Queen was also allowed to send a minister to Scotland.^q But, the whole ended in delusion; as nothing was, seriously, intended from the beginning, but poisonous amusement to the Scottish Queen. This fresh disappointment threw the unhappy Queen into a new fit of despondency,^r which lasted, during the latter part of 1583. Her letters, during this period, were generally intercepted.^s The French court

^p Elizabeth's letter to Shrewsbury, and Mildmay, 10th June 1583 in the Paper Office.

^q Walsingham kept up a constant correspondence with Bowes, Elizabeth's envoy at Edinburgh, on the subject of this treaty. Calig. C. vii. 183.

^r Calig. ix. 46.

^s Calig. vii.—ix.

were, at length restrained, from interesting themselves, on her behalf, *for fear of prejudice to her person.*^c At this period, Elizabeth entertained a strong desire, which she did not effect, of removing the great object of her solicitude to Milborn castle.^d Had the Queen of England removed Mary, from her kingdom, Elizabeth had saved the Scottish Queen much misery, and her own fame, from eternal disgrace: But, Elizabeth appears to have retained Mary, in prison, for no other object, than the daily pleasure of tormenting a hated rival.

While Scotland was disturbed, by various factions, and a weak government, England was equally disturbed, by the absurd endeavours of Throckmorton, to serve the Scottish Queen. He was suspected, by means of a letter, which he wrote to that Queen; and which was easily intercepted. Throckmorton was scarcely committed to the Tower, when Lord Paget, and Charles Arundel, fled, privately, to France; as at home, they could hope for no safety. They vented their discontents, in this manner: That

^c Murdin, 385. Sir Ed. Stafford's letter to Burghley, 15th Decemb. 1583. Yet, on the 20th of the same month, the French King wrote a letter to the Scottish Queen; as a tribute of his recollection.

^d Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 355-62.

Elizabeth, without any fault of theirs, was alienated from them, by the subtle artifices of Leicester, and Walsingham; that they were unworthily disgraced: that strange tricks were invented, and practised, and secret snares laid for them; so that they were thereby involved in treason, before they were aware. Whatever there may be, in those complaints, we certainly, know, that a severe act of Parliament had been recently passed against the Roman Catholicks, which was severely executed;^v and we, moreover, know, that persecution will create resistance, and the spirit of resistance will beget privy conspiracy, and rebellion.

Let us now hear the fact, from Camden:
 “Verily,” says he, “there were, at this time,
 “some subtle ways taken, to try how men stood
 “affected. Counterfeit letters were, privily,
 “sent, *in the name of the Queen of Scots*, and
 “the fugitives, and left, in papist’s houses:
 “Spies were sent up, and down, the country, to
 “take notice of people’s discourse: Reporters
 “of vain and idle stories were admitted, and

^v Camden, 295. A book was about that time published, inciting the Queen’s women to treat Elizabeth, as Judith had acted, with applause, against Holofernes. The author was unknown; but Carter, the bookseller, was executed. Elizabeth commanded seventy priests to be transported. Id.

“ credited. Hereupon, many were brought
 “ into suspicion ; and amongst the rest Henry,
 “ earl of Northumberland, was restrained : And
 “ his son, the Earl of Arundel was confined to
 “ his own house, and his wife committed to cus-
 “ tody. William Howard, the earl’s brother,
 “ and Henry Howard, their uncle, the late
 “ Duke of Norfolk’s brother, were several times
 “ examined, *about letters from the Queen of*
 “ *Scots*, and from Charles Paget, and one Mope ;
 “ whose prudence, and innocence, could hardly
 “ protect them.”^w Elizabeth demanded the Eng-
 lish fugitives to be removed from France : But,
 the King refused ; as Elizabeth had received
 French refugees, and Scottish traitors : Eliza-
 beth ordered Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassa-
 dor, to retire from England : And the King of
 Spain would not see Waad, her envoy.* Lord

^w Id. In addition to those facts, we must recollect, that
 when Randolph was sent to Scotland, in 1581, to protect
 the greatest of criminals, Morton, the English envoy, pro-
 duced some letters before the Estates ; in order to show, that
 the Duke of Lennox had written such letters, to solicit
 France, to invade that country : which had been intercepted,
 as he pretended ; but, which were, afterwards, found to be
 forgeries. Who forged those Letters of Lennox ? Elizabeth’s
 ministers. When any government goes so far into such
 artifices, and impostures, it ought to be distrusted ; and,
 hardly, believed, when such ministers do speak the truth.

^x Camden, 297-8.

Henry Howard was, on the 11th of December 1583, examined by Lord Hunsden, concerning some intelligence, which he was suspected to have had with the Queen of Scots.^y The Scottish Queen's correspondence, meantime, both with Scotland, and France, was continually intercepted; as we know, from the documents, in the Cotton library.

Such was the state of England, and the affairs of Mary, at the end of 1583. The subsequent year opened with an application of the Scottish Queen to Elizabeth; complaining of not having received answers to her letters; and soliciting a better treatment. The Scottish Queen soon after wrote to Burghley; requesting his intercession with Elizabeth, on her behalf. Yet, Mary's wardens continued to intercept letters, and couriers, which were addressed to the captive Queen.^z

Under such circumstances, Elizabeth had recourse to an old artifice, with regard to the Scottish Queen, by proposing a fresh treaty with the imprisoned Queen: But, fears, and jealousies, says Camden, broke off the treaty; and he might have added, that fears and jealousies,

^y Calig. vii. 260.

^z Calig. B. viii. 329; Ib. b. iv. 278; Sadler's Stat. Pap. ii. 375-8.

had broken off all such treaties before, which were only proposed, by dissimulation, for the purpose of deceit.^a

At length, Elizabeth resolved to gratify Shrewsbury, by relieving him from the custody of the Queen of Scots; appointing as her wardens Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Henry Nevil.^b

^a There remains moreover, a letter of the 23d of March 1583-4, from Shrewsbury to Elizabeth; giving her an account of this treaty, and of the Scottish Queen's conversation: "She said, she did not know what was passing in Scotland; that she had never directed her son; or invited rebellion against her majesty; and had never any dealings, with Throkmorton, about matters of religion." Shrewsbury insinuating to Mary, that this new treaty was proposed, by her, "*to lull her majesty into security,*" she exclaimed, *she knew who were the luller, and the lulled; and referred both to the judgment of God.* Shrewsbury concluded, by requesting permission to repair to court, to convince Elizabeth, in the face of his adversaries, of the falsehood, and treachery of the reports against him. The original dispatch is in the Paper Office.

^b Elizabeth announced this change, in her letter to Shrewsbury of the 1st of April 1584: And she adds, "as the Scottish Queen might consider, that this removal might occasion more hard usage than she had received heretofore, she was to be informed, that her majesty had no such intention; though the Scottish Queen well knew, she deserved it, if she were dealt with, as she deserved." The original of this epistle, coarse, and vulgar, as it is, remains in the Paper Office.

Shrewsbury was now happy; but, Sadler, at his time of life, felt that a burden had been imposed on him, which his health, and spirits could not bear.

It is easy to perceive, that Elizabeth's government, at home, and abroad, by artifices, and deception, would raise up against her many enemies, to say nothing of those, who, in pitying the hard fate of the Scottish Queen, detested the oppression of a guilty government. From all those causes, danger was now supposed to be at hand. And Leicester, to retain his influence, with his queen, took the lead, in proposing an universal association, "by mutual vows, subscriptions, and seals," *to prosecute to death*, as far as their power extended, all those, who should attempt any thing against the Queen's Majesty.^c

The Scottish Queen was too clear sighted, not to perceive, that her destruction was aimed at, by that association; and being worn out with misery, and fearing severer treatment, she sent Naue, her secretary, to Elizabeth, with an offer to join the association; to enter into a treaty of amity, on her own terms; and to give the French King, and the princes of the house

^c Camden, 300.

of Lorraine, for the faithful performance of her covenants.

Such were the offers, which were reported to Elizabeth, by Waad, who accompanied Mons. Maron to Mary, who came to settle her claims, in France. Shrewsbury, and Beal, were, in consequence, appointed, in May 1584, to enter into treaty with the Scottish Queen. But, if we may believe these negotiators, the captive Queen was now either unable, or unwilling, to enter into treaty, on the terms, which she had offered to Waad. Elizabeth, who had broken off so many treaties, on very slight pretences, was now indignant, that the Queen of Scots should have seen cause to decline what she had formerly offered. And Burghley was employed to write considerations, concerning the various matters, arising out of the Scottish Queen's offers to Shrewsbury, and Beal,^d while Elizabeth was carrying on her usual intrigues, at Edinburgh.^e

These negotiations, and intrigues, led on to the demission of Shrewsbury, and the appointment of Sadler, as the warden of Mary, with Somer for his assistant, in August 1584. Sir Ralph, though appointed, for a particular emer-

^d Calig. C. viii. 59.

^e Ib. C. viii. 54—57.

gency, continued, in his uneasy charge, for eight months, from August 1584 to April 1585: But, he was so disgusted, by Elizabeth's penury, and so harassed, by her jealousy, that losing all patience, he besought Burghley, and Walsingham, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to relieve him; as he would rather be a prisoner for life, in the Tower, than continue, in so disgustful a service. He arrived at Sheffield, on the 25th of August; and Shrewsbury informed him, that in pursuance of Elizabeth's orders, he had resolved to remove the Scottish Queen, from Sheffield to Wingfield, on the 27th of the same month. She was accordingly removed, on the 2d of September, after a long sojourn at Sheffield, though Sadler would have rather retained the captive Queen with *sixty soldiers*, at Sheffield, than three hundred, at Wingfield; on account of the strength of the former place, and the openness of the latter. The Scottish Queen was not much pleased, that she had been removed, without some notification, from Elizabeth herself: She was now safely lodged, and guarded, "by forty stout soldiers;" with the aid of eighty persons of Shrewsbury's household. On the road, the Queen asked Somer, if he thought she would escape if she could. Somer said, he thought she would: as it was natural to seek liberty, when confined: No:

said she, you are deceived ; I would rather die, in this captivity, with honour, than run away, with shame. Somer replied, he should be sorry to see her put to the trial. The Queen then said, it was her wish, if Elizabeth would give her liberty, to go to Scotland, to see her son, and give him good advice, but she never would reside, permanently, there, where she had been so ill treated ; but, would go, and end her days, in France, and never trouble herself with politics, or marriage.^f

The captive Queen was now very anxious to be permitted to send a special messenger to her majesty, with new propositions : But, Elizabeth would not receive Naue, the Queen's secretary, as she desired nothing so much, as a reconciliation ; and to effect it, offered herself as a mediator between her son, and the Scottish noblemen, with whom he was at variance : And she solemnly denied the least knowledge, or connection, with Crichton, the jesuit, who had recently been apprehended.^g

^f Sadler's letter, 4th September 1584, to Walsingham, in the Paper Office.

^g The same to the same, 19th, 21st September, in the Paper Office ; and Camden, 299. The last treaty with Mary was broken off, chiefly, by the discovery of papers, which Crichton, a Scottish jesuit, being taken, by a Netherland pirate, had torn in pieces, and cast into the sea ; yet,

Walsingham, however, avowed to Sadler, that he could not draw Elizabeth to any resolution, on the Scottish Queen's request of sending her secretary, Naue, to court; adding withal, Somer knoweth that, "*we [Elizabeth]*" "*are long in our resolution here, especially,*" "*in matters subject to jealousy, which hu-*" "*mour doth daily increase,*" [on Elizabeth.^h] Shrewsbury was graciously received, by Elizabeth, who was very desirous to compound the controversies between him, and his wife, a matter, that was not performed very easily. Shrewsbury daily made suit, to be discharged of the custody of the Queen of Scots.ⁱ Walsingham soon after informed Sadler, that Elizabeth deferred her resolution, about allowing the Scottish Queen, to send up Naue; but desired him to entertain the captive Queen with hopes, of her desire being granted. Elizabeth designed, on the 8th of October, to have a full

the wind, by a miracle, (and, as we learn from LEAR, nothing almost sees miracles but misery) were blown back into the vessel, were pieced together, discovered new designs of the Pope, of the Spaniards, and the Guises, "for invading England." Id. But, is not this one of the idle stories, which Camden says, were then admitted, and credited? Who would believe such a story as this, which was admitted, to be quite miraculous. See, however, Calig. ix. 101.

^h Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 399—401. ⁱ Id.

consultation of her council, about the course to be held with Queen Mary; as Shrewsbury earnestly pressed Elizabeth, for his discharge.^k

Walsingham, moreover, intimated to Sadler, that Elizabeth seeing, by intercepted letters,^l that the Queen of Scots was very anxious to understand her majesty's resolution, in respect to the change of her warden, the secretary directed Sadler to hold a vigilant eye over his charge. Sadler was also required to send up Loggin, one of Shrewsbury's men, to be examined; and to pump one Hawkesworth, a gentleman, living near Sheffield, who was much disliked, by the Scottish Queen. Baldwin, Shrewsbury's agent, was arrested; as he held a secret intelligence with the captive Queen: And Elizabeth desired Sadler to have a watchful eye over Queen Mary: And that the servants, who attend him, should be furnished with *daggers*, and *petronels*.^m

Sadler, on the 8th of October, answered Walsingham's directions. He had drawn, from the Queen, his charge, her feelings, as to the change of her keeper; she weighed not the change, so as she be well used, *and her person*

^k Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 408-9.

^l From Curle, one of the Queen's secretaries.

^m Sadler's Pap. ii. 402-3—10-11—411-12.

in safety, whereof she had some cause of mistrust, in former times. He intimated the improbability of her attempting to escape; considering the extraordinary precautions, and *her tenderness of body, subject to a vehement rheum, upon any cold, which causeth a plentiful distillation, from above, down to her left foot, which is much pained, and sometimes a little swollen.* He explained the strength of the place, and the extraordinary pains taken, to prevent any possibility of escape. He gave a detail of the gentlemen living around the castle, and were ready to assist. Besides the establishment of the castle, Sadler had with him forty-three men of his own servants, every one armed with sword, and dagger, some with pistols, and some with long shot. Sadler recommended *entering into a treaty, and ending the matter, with the Queen of Scots, by an honourable composition.* Sadler thought that a trial ought to be made of an amicable arrangement; as she earnestly protests, that it is her sincere wish, to serve her Majesty, if permitted.^a The Queen amidst her other grievances complained to the ministers of France, that she had been wronged in her dowry.^o

^a This interesting letter is in the Paper Office; and see Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 412—16. ^o Calig. C. viii. 118.

After all those recommendations of liberality, and reconciliation, Elizabeth summoned a Parliament, which was chiefly intended, to disable such as pretended a title to the crown, and endeavoured to disturb her possession. Walsingham, while he gave this information to Sadler, delivered it, as his decided opinion, *for listening to the offers of the Scottish Queen, and making a treaty with her: The impediment arose chiefly through a jealous conceit, that either of the two princesses hath of the other, which, I see, he adds, will hardly be removed.*^p

Meantime, were entered into associations, for the preservation of Elizabeth's person; and one of these was ordered, by the Queen's Majesty, to be shown to the Scottish Queen, with directions, to watch her countenance, and speech: But, without any change of either, she offered to sign it, though we learn not, that her signature was much coveted.

The Scottish Queen, about the same time, was involved, in the saddest spirits, by a woman of very ill conditions. Sadler wrote to Walsingham: Queen Mary is marvellously grieved, with the Countess of Shrewsbury, for the foul slanders of late raised upon her, by the said countess: and the Queen trusts, that Elizabeth

^p Sadler's Pap. ii. 420-1.

will suffer her, to have justice; and that the countess may be forced, either to prove, or deny what she hath said, and done: She can charge the said countess, with many other things.¹ But, as the countess had long been the spy of Elizabeth, there is reason to believe, that the Queen's Majesty liked the slander too well, to punish, with severity, the noble tale bearer.

Elizabeth, however, at length, resolved to allow Mary, to send up to court Naue, her secretary: But, Sadler was directed, what shows her extreme jealousy, "to send some trusty " person with Naue, to watch, and oversee " him, and prevent him from speaking to any " person:" and he was desired to deal with Curle, and Mary, about the letter written, by Curle, under the name of Welbeck, to Baldwin.² Walsingham moved Elizabeth, in vain, to relieve the aged Sadler, from this invidious

¹ Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 421-2. There was at the same time, a proposal made, about preparing Tutbury castle, for Mary's residence: But, this preparation was directed to be made, secretly, without her knowledge.

² Sadler's Papers, 28th Octob. 1534. ii. 425-7. There was no security provided, however, to prevent Walsingham, from gaining Naue, to reveal the secrets of his mistress, though the secretary of Mary was sworn well, and truly, to keep her secrets.

task, according to her promise: But, he intimated, as her excuse, *Elizabeth's want of resolution.*^s Were we to enumerate the Queen's Majesty's *wants*, she would appear, we may suspect, to have few possessions of a moral nature, to boast of, as her virtuous qualities.

As early as the 3d of November 1584, it was finally, resolved by Elizabeth's government, to remove Mary to Tutbury: And Cave, one of the Cofferer's clerks, was sent, with £500. in his pocket, to make provision, at Tutbury castle, for Mary's reception. But, to make a dilapidated castle fit, for the reception of a Queen, was not an easy task, with three times £500. Lord St. John, the proposed warden, in the room of the impatient Sadler, hesitated, and delayed, for some weeks; and even at the beginning of the subsequent year, declined to accept such a charge.^t

Meantime appeared at the court of London, as envoy from James, the notorious master of Gray, a young man of slight, and profligate

^s Sadler's Pap. ii. 428-9.

^t There is a letter, from Burghley to Sadler, 5th Jan. 1584-5; giving an account of Lord St. John's having flatly refused to take charge of the Scottish Queen; Elizabeth threatened to make an example of him: St. John fearing her wrath, reluctantly consented to accept this charge: But the Queen's Majesty would not now allow him to go. Sad. St. Pap. ii. 477-8.

qualities. There is a letter, from him to the Queen of Scots ; wherein he resents his being injured by her, if a letter, shown to her son, were hers : He yet advises her how to proceed with Elizabeth, and relates what advice he had given to the King, his master.^u On this subject, the Queen opened herself to Sadler. She said this young gentleman was a creature of the Archbishop of Glasgow's, and has been educated among the Jesuits, who seek to serve their turn, by him, about her son. She professed, that she had her son bound to her devotion, by his own writing, as Naue would shew the Queen's Majesty : She asserted, that her son had oft sent to her for money, to buy clothes, for himself, and apparel, for his pages, and lackeys, which she caused to be furnished, from her revenues out of France, when she could ill spare it : He obtained lately 6000 crowns from the Duke of Guise, whereof she thinks this gentleman has had the greater part, to set him forth, in so good a show :^v She added, it was by her means, that he was sent upon this embassy, upon his earnest promises, by his letters, to treat, and deal for her, if she would procure her son to employ him, and to endea-

^u MSS. Harl. 290, fol. 146, dated 22d Novemb. 1584.

^v Ib. 466-8.

your to speak to her first on his journey ; but, now he takes another course, and seems to deal, for her son, without her.^w

At the end of November 1584, Elizabeth's ministers were chiefly occupied with the negotiation of Naue, and the Scottish ambassador. Naue desired, that his mistress might not be removed till his return ; and Elizabeth assented to this : But, the principal difficulty was to obtain, at Wingfield, provisions, and other necessities, at Elizabeth's expense. And these additional charges, Walsingham supposed, *would greatly hasten the treaty* ; so penurious had Elizabeth become. Naue had much private negotiation with the Queen's Majesty, concerning Lady Shrewsbury. On the 25th of November, he had conference with some of the council, to whom he made three requests ; that the treaty might go forward with his mistress ; that she might not be removed till the treaty were finished, at least till his return ;^x that *Lady Shrewsbury, and her two sons* might openly confess before the French ambassador, himself, and some of the council, the untruth of those imputations, that had been cast upon his mistress,

^w MS. Harl. 290.

^x Naue returned to Wingfield, on the 29th of December 1584.

which touch her life, and honour. Yet, little, or nothing was effected, by his endeavours ; as this negotiation, like all former ones, was, prematurely, closed, by Elizabeth's jealousies.¹

The failure of this treaty for her liberation almost broke the heart of Mary. But, when she heard, that there was to be a great change, both, in the place of her residence, and the person of her warden, she was thrown into despair. Sadler, after stating his own age, and infirmities, and inabilities, to Elizabeth, submitted somewhat regarding the Queen of Scots : I find her, said he, much altered from that she was, when I was first acquainted with her. This restraint of liberty, with the grief of mind, which she hath had, by the same, hath wrought some good effect in her temperament. She is not yet able, to strain her left foot to the ground, and to her very great grief, not without tears, findeth that being wasted, and shrunk of its natural measure, and shorter, than the other, she feareth, that it will hardly return to its natural state, without the benefit of hot baths.²

¹ In the Cotton library, there is a brief note of all the treaties, that have passed, for the Scottish Queen's enlargement ; with the several causes, why they took no effect, from a paper, in Burghley's hand. Calig. C. viii. f. 166.

² Such was the captive Queen's unhappy state, at the end

Sadler, and the Queen, his charge, seem to have been driven, from Wingfield, at the beginning of 1584-5, by the want of provisions, and other necessaries. Burghley communicated to Sadler Elizabeth's wishes, that Mary were removed to Tutbury, and to have both the numbers of her attendants, and their charges, diminished.^a The Scottish Queen sent her answer to certain points, which had not been cleared, by Naue, at his coming from court. She now consented to be removed to Tutbury, though she was yet lame, and unable to walk alone. Sadler appointed the 13th of January to leave Wingfield, and to be, at Tutbury, on the morrow;^b the ways being so foul, and deep, and *she so lame, though in good health of body*, that they could not go through, in a day; myself, also," said Sadler, "being more unable than she is, to travel, as I have not been well, this month, and more."^c Upon Thursday, the 14th, they came to Tutbury, with the Scottish Queen, all well.

In cold weather, said Sadler, we found a cold house, very badly furnished: They wanted

of the year 1584; as stated by Sadler to Elizabeth, and Walsingham. Sadler's State Pap. ii. 460-2-4-6.

^a Burghley's letter of the 5th of January 1584-5.

^b Sadler's Pap. ii. 477-8-9—80.

^c Sadler to Burghley, 13th January 1584-5.

tapestry, curtains, beds, blankets, sheets, and other furniture. The Queen's people complained, and Sadler endeavoured to quiet them, and promised to get supplies: But, he added, "fair words, and promises, will not keep folk warm long. Queen Mary," said he, "is now in a very good state, for health, and began to go about her chamber, with some help, her foot being yet swoln, and weak." She earnestly desired to know, if Elizabeth liked, and accepted of her consent, to join in the *English association*; and whether the letter to her son, which she had transmitted, for the Queen's majesty's perusal, had been sent to him.

Elizabeth's jealousy was far from being pleased with the detail of the journey. To her dislike, that the number of gentlemen attending seemed to make a shew of fear, Sadler answered, "that the gentlemen came only with their servants, and the Queen showed no appearance of dislike, but behaved courteously: At Derby, and more amply, at the end of the journey, when the gentlemen were departing, Mary expressed her thanks to Elizabeth, for the honour shewn to her, by appointing such grave, and wise gentlemen of reputation, to accompany her, in this journey, and gave great thanks to them all." The Queen's majesty was displeased, that he should have

lodged the Queen in Derby-town, on their way,
to which Sadler answered, “ it could not pos-
“ sibly be avoided ; as he ascertained before,
“ by sending persons of judgment, to survey
“ the country, and to see, if any other road,
“ passable, by coach, and carriage, could be
“ found ; but they could find no other, that
“ was passable, and besides, there was no
“ gentleman’s house to lodge her at, during
“ the night ; even the road by Derby was
“ bad enough, at that season of the year, and
“ he was obliged, to cause bridges to be
“ made to get over some bad passages. And
“ as to the information of a great personage,
“ delivered to him, by some officious officer,
“ that this Queen was offered to salute, and
“ kiss a multitude of the townswomen of
“ Derby, and of the speeches she was said to
“ have made to them ; I do assert, and Mr.
“ Somer will be sworn, if need be : I going
“ before the Queen, and he next behind her,
“ yea, before all the gentlemen, on purpose,
“ saving one, that carried up her gown, that
“ her entertainment was this: In the little hall
“ was the good wife, being an ancient widow,
“ named Mrs. Beaumont, with four other wo-
“ men, her neighbours ; as soon as Queen
“ Mary knew, who was her hostess, after she
“ had made her curtesy to the rest of the

“ women, standing next to the door, the Queen
“ went to the hostess, and kissed her, and
“ none other ; saying that she was come thither
“ to trouble her, and that she was also a widow,
“ and therefore trusted, that they should agree
“ well enough together, having no husbands to
“ trouble them ; and so went into the parlour
“ upon the same low floor, and no stranger with
“ her, but the good wife, and her sister.”^a

^a Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 501-4-5.

SECTION XVIII.

*From Mary's Removal to Tutbury, till her
Removal to Fotheringay.*

THE Queen of Scots arrived at Tutbury, at the middle of January, 1584-5, after her good-humoured treatment of the women of Derby, and the absurd jealousies of Elizabeth. As this ancient fabrick belonged to the crown, Elizabeth, when Lord Paget emigrated, seized his house of Beaudesert, in Staffordshire, sold part of the furniture, and directed that the remainder should be sent to Tutbury, when it was proposed, to remove the Scottish Queen, from Wingfield to that royal castle. But, so great a pile was yet far from furnished. Elizabeth, in the true practice of her usual penury, endeavoured to beg, and borrow, bed, and table linen, and other articles of household furniture, from the neighbouring gentlemen, who could not lend, what they wished to use themselves. Mary complained to Elizabeth of her wants; her people complained to Sadler, and he to Burghley, and Walsingham. The French ambassador interposed, on behalf of the Scottish Queen. Elizabeth feeling, now, that her vulgar penu-

riousness was exposed to the wide, and disdainful eyes of France, “felt *her honour* touched,” and threatened those, with punishment, who ought to have furnished such an extensive castle, with an outlay of £500.^c Elizabeth, who had squabbled with Shrewsbury, during a dozen years, about ends of candles, now disputed with Burghley and Sadler, about the yearly allowance of the Scottish Queen. Elizabeth insisted, that it should not exceed £1500. Burghley, in communicating this to Sadler, intimated his opinion, that it was impossible to be done, allowing for 100 persons. Sadler concurred in this judgment; saying, from his experience, it could hardly be done honourably, for £3000. a year: And, he added, I see no remedy, meantime, if this Queen is to be kept, in this sort, but the Queen’s majesty *must abide this brunt of charge*.^d After a conference with Mary’s officers, he sent a written detail of Mary’s annual expenses, to Burghley, for Elizabeth’s satisfaction: “wherein the Scottish Queen “herself rebated somewhat from her officers’ demands, *like a frugal housewife; saying, that*

• There remains a letter, from Elizabeth to Sadler, 18th February 1584-5, directing punishment to be inflicted on the offending parties, answerable to their demerits. Sadler’s Pap. ii. 514.

^d Stat. Pap. ii. 495.

“ she will have nothing superfluous :” She only desired, that a certain resolution might be settled, in that behalf, not to be altered upon any change of governor.^e

The Scottish Queen did not feel herself very comfortable, in her new residence, even after the establishment had been settled, with abundant altercation. The dampness of the house brought back her old pains, in her side, and hips ; and she kept her bed, for a week, at the beginning of February 1584-5. It added considerably to her disquiet, when she heard, through the French Ambassador, that Sir Amias Paulet was appointed her warden, whom she had heard of, when ambassador, in France ; while she claimed, that none under the degree of a lord ought fitly to be appointed the governor of the castle, wherein she resided.^f In the meantime, the Scottish Queen pressed, to be admitted into the association, for the safety of Elizabeth’s person. And the negotiation was continued, and a treaty made with Mary’s son, without her participation ; a circumstance this, which added not a little to the misery of her

^e Stat. Pap. ii. 501.

^f Somer to Walsingham, 18th Feb. 1584-5, in the Paper Office. The instructions to Sir Amias were dated, on the 4th of March thereafter.

wretched health ; as it showed her too plainly how much she was disregarded, by Elizabeth, and discountenanced by her ministers, who, even then, were preparing criminal charges against Mary, while they pretended to negotiate with her.

The Queen's majesty still continued her pitiful practice of spies, who never told her the truth. She had heard that Sadler had allowed Mary to go a hawking. Sadler wrote to Walsingham the real fact : When he came to Tutbury, finding the country suitable, for the sport of hawking, *which he had always delighted in*, he sent home, for his hawks, and falconers, " *wherewith, to pass this miserable life, which I lead here ;*" and when they came, he used them, sometimes, not far from the castle ; whereof, this Queen having, earnestly, entreated me, that she might go abroad with me, to see my hawks fly, *a pastime, indeed, which she hath singular delight in* : And I thinking, it could not be ill taken, assented to her desire ; and so hath she been abroad, with me, three, or four times, hawking upon the river, here [*the Dove,*] sometimes a mile, sometimes two miles, but not passed three miles, when she was farthest from the castle : And, he added, that she was guarded, by forty, or fifty of his own servants, and others on horseback, some armed

with pistols, which he knew to be a sufficient guard against any sudden attempt, that could be made, for her escape. In this, he concludes, he used his discretion, and he thought he did well; but since it is not well taken, I would to God, that some other had the charge, who would use it with more discretion than I can; for I assure you, I am so weary of it, that if it were not more, for that I would do nothing, that should offend her majesty, than for fear of any punishment, I would come home, and yield myself to be a prisoner, in the *Tower*, all the days of my life, rather than I would attend any longer here, upon this charge: And if I had known, when I came from home, I should have tarried here so long, contrary to all the promises, which were made to me, I would have refused, as others do, and have yielded to any punishment, rather than I would have accepted of this charge; for a greater punishment cannot be ministered unto me, than to force me to remain here, in this sort; as it appears, *things well meant, by him, are not well taken.*^s

^s St. Pap. ii. 539; the original is in the Pap. Office. Somer confirmed Sir Ralph's statement; adding, how grievously he took the Queen's majesty's conceit of him. Somer denies, that Sadler allowed the Scottish Queen more liberty than Shrewsbury allowed her. When she went a hawking, with Sir Ralph, she was always attended by a strong guard,

Elizabeth was reasonably well satisfied with Sir Ralph's apology: But, the *dangerous and doubtful state of the times*, and in particular, the great power, and influence, of the Guises, in France, require, that his charge should be very narrowly watched, said Walsingham to Sadler.^h And these pretences were stated very gravely, by Walsingham, as if there were any sense in them. Elizabeth consented, that the Scottish Queen might send a servant to her son, who shall be accompanied, by one of the Queen's Majesty's servants. Mary, disliking the terms of Elizabeth's permission, declined to send a servant into Scotland. The great effort now was to keep the Scottish Queen, from private intelligences, which was supposed not to be easily done. Sir Ralph's indulgence to Mary, obtained, what his entreaties had tried, in vain, the arrival of Sir Amias Paulet, as the Queen's warden, on the 17th of April 1585; who was to

well mounted, and armed, and she had only four men, and two gentlewomen with her; and her majesty may be assured, "that if any danger had been offered, or doubt suspected, this Queen's body should first have tasted of the gall." In the Pap. Office. We thus see, that Elizabeth's officers arrogated the power of life, and death, over the Queen of Scots, in a summary way. Who gave this power even to Elizabeth herself, appears not.

^h Dispatch in the Paper Office, 29th March 1585.

introduce new restrictions, during those *dangerous and doubtful times* : He soon had his first interview with the Queen of Scots, who seemed displeased, with him, as she had heard, that he was unfriendly to her ; but, she soon became more contented with her situation, and more satisfied with her new warden. Sir Amias directed, that all her letters should pass through his hands, to which she agreed : and he directed her servants not to convey any letters, or messages, unknown to him. But, his rigours were soon complained of ; and her people became clamorous, when they saw, that the Queen's coachman could not exercise his horses, without having some of the warden's servants with him ; when they beheld, “ the cloth of estate,” in the great chamber removed ; Sir Amias being of opinion, that there ought to be but one cloth of estate, in England : But, he did not reflect, that by this measure, he, in some measure, degraded Mary, from her dignity of Queen.ⁱ

The Scottish Queen was soon after taken ill ;

ⁱ Yet, there still remained a small cloth of estate, in the room, where the Queen dined, and supped. This cloth of estate represented, by letters, the names of the Queen's father, and mother, with the arms of Scotland, in the middle, quartered with the arms of Lorraine.

and was for sometime confined to her chamber, during a course of medicine : But, getting better, she sent for Sir Amias ; and told him, “ that she was much hurt, her Majesty had “ never once wrote, or enquired after her, during her confinement ; adding, she was determined to give up all hope of favour, from her Majesty ; as it was evident, she was only “ kept to serve a turn, when any new accident “ required it.” The Scottish Queen also complained much of her being forbidden to distribute alms to the poor people, in the neighbourhood, as formerly.^k

Elizabeth, early in 1585, with a view to the ultimate fate of Mary, endeavoured to strengthen herself, at home, and abroad. She sent the order of the garter to the French King. She endeavoured to obtain a confederacy with the princes of Germany. And she tried with some success, to draw King James into a league offensive, and defensive, which might operate against his mother.^l

The association, which was, formerly, begun, by Leicester, was now adopted, by Parliament : And, an act was passed against such, as should

^k Paulet's letters to Walsingham, 27th April, 2d May, 10th June 1585, in the Paper Office. ^l Camden, 305-12.

attempt to hurt the Queen's person, for, or by whomsoever employed, that may make claim to the crown ; while a mode was, thereby, established, for trying such delinquent persons. It did not require any penetration to see, that those several measures were, specially, pointed at the Scottish Queen,^m though it is not, by any means certain, that the Scottish Queen had any adequate knowledge of that statute.

Irritated by the death of Sir Francis Russel, on the Scottish borders, in one of those hasty scuffles, which were so natural, to the place, and parties, Elizabeth sent home the Scottish refugees ; supplying them with money ; in order to expel Arran, the Scottish King's favourite minister. The King was at length obliged to take those refugees into his favour : And James was now enabled to enter into a league with Elizabeth, the author of this change.ⁿ

Meanwhile, the consideration, with regard to the Scottish Queen, came before the Parliament : It was very easy, considering the nature of the proofs, which were generally, brought against that unfortunate personage, rumours and reports, counterfeit letters, and decyphered dispatches, to establish a belief, that she was the

^m Camden, 309 : Strype, ii. 293-95-96. ⁿ Ib. 314-15.

cause of the dangerous conspiracies, which Spain, and the Pope, as well as others, entertained against Elizabeth, and her kingdom: And, it was therefore moved, that she ought “to be taken off.”^o A discourse was, at the same time, published, to prove *the lawfulness* of putting her to death.^p Such were the unjustifiable means, which were then taken, to familiarize the people of England, to the odious purpose of *taking off* the Scottish Queen, by whatever means. She was now aware, from the measures taking against her, that her fate was finally determined on: so that her life was drawing to a close: We may easily suppose, therefore, that the Scottish Queen would now receive the orders of Elizabeth, from Paulet, with a mixture of indignation, and contempt.

Meantime, neither she, nor her family, were

^o Strype, ii. 299.

^p Id. The discourse above-mentioned was thus detailed: A sovereign prince, acknowledging no superior, in distress at home, fleeth to the kingdom of his confederate, being likewise a sovereign prince; and is, by him, *received into protection*: [But, this was not the fact, as to Mary] yet, kept in safe custody, as having afore been a competitor of that kingdom [neither was Mary a competitor, during Elizabeth's life] where he practised, by open fact, against the life of that prince. [Nor, was this true, as to Mary:] Now; may not such a practiser be put to death? Id.

easy in Tutbury, which, after every representation, was not made comfortable; and in September 1585, Chartley, a house of Lord Essex, was viewed, in order to ascertain, whether it was fit for Mary's prison. Elizabeth refused to allow Mons. Cherelles, and the Countess of Athol, to reside with her: and partly owing to such denial, and to her infirmities, her temper changed, from placid, to severe. Her letters to France were now ordered to be sent to Walsingham, for conveyance, or interception. She received this direction with displeasure, not to say indignation: She exclaimed, "that she
 " would not be separated, from her union with
 " the King of France, who was her ally; and
 " she could see, plainly, that her destruction
 " was sought, and that her life would be taken,
 " from her, and then it would be said, that she
 " had died of sickness; but, when she was at
 " the lowest, her heart was greatest: and being
 " prepared for extremity, she would provoke
 " her enemies to do their worst."^a

At this period, the Scottish Queen's indisposition, and the infirmity of her legs, which was become desperate, and hopeless of recovery, was deemed a great advantage to her keeper, said Paulet to Walsingham.^r Paulet endea-

^a Paulet to Walsingham, 23d Septemb. 1585, in the Pap. Office.

^r Id.

voured to persuade the Queen, to remain during the winter, in Tutbury; but she was passionately desirous to remove to Chartley. Paulet acknowledged, that she, certainly, was in great pain, from the return of her complaint; “having at this time, three defluxions; in her shoulder, in her arm; and in her heel.”^{*} In the midst of such wretched health, the Scottish Queen continued to be very solicitous, for her removal to Chartley; thinking that change of place, and air, might relieve her infirmities. Paulet, from his journeys, in looking after houses, was taken with the gout, which usually afflicted him, in the autumn: But, he comforted himself, that the Scottish Queen was, also, confined to her bed.[†] Paulet, who seems to have felt, only, for himself, resolved to remove the Queen, and her family, on Tuesday before Christmas-day. For this object, he summoned the principal gentlemen of the shire, to attend, with their retainers, for their journey, which he suspected would be troublesome, from the quantity of baggage, which the Scottish Queen, and her attendants,

^{*} Paulet to Walsingham, 15th Octob. 1585, in the Paper Office.

[†] Paulet to Walsingham, 17th Nov. 1585, in the Paper Office.

had, “in apparel, books, and like trash.”^u Sir Amias seems always studious, to avow the severity of his character. They, accordingly, removed to Chartley, on the eve of Christmas 1585; but, from the Queen’s infirmities, and shocking prospects, they were far from happy, and not even comfortable.

Throughout January 1586, the Queen enjoyed somewhat better health; she could use her feet, but not without halting: And the defluxion had fallen into one of her hands. Even this state of convalescence did not last long.^v Since his last account, Paulet represented the Scottish Queen, as being much worse; sleeping little, and eating less; the humours flying about her, and are now in many places, at once.^w She continued very ill, with pains in her limbs, and could not turn, in her bed, without help, and was in excessive pain. Last year, said Paulet to Walsingham, when she came to Tutbury, she complained that her bed was stained and ill flavoured, and Mr. Somer, to accommodate

^u Paulet to Walsingham, 6th Decemb. 1585, in the Pap. Office.

^v Paulet to Walsingham, 26th Jan. 1585-6, in the Pap. Office.

^w In his letter of the 30th Jan. 1585-6, to Walsingham, in the Pap. Office.

her, gave her his own bed, which was only a plain ordinary feather bed : and now by her long laying in it, the feathers came through the tick, and its hardness caused her great pain ; she begged to have a down bed ; and Sir Amias said he could not, in honesty, and charity, refuse to mention her request to Walsingham, and desires it may be sent for her.^x The Scottish Queen still continued very ill ; and on the 17th of February was taken with a defluxion in the side ; in so dangerous a manner, that her recovery was despaired of : But she is now a little better, said Paulet to Walsingham.^y Such was the deplorable condition, to which was reduced a Queen, who had been the admiration of civilized Europe, by eighteen years imprisonment of a cousin, a neighbour Queen, whose guilty passions, without right, and without feeling, had doomed to a life of misery.

Without adopting the charity of such a steeled warden as Paulet, Elizabeth pursued, steadily, at the beginning of 1586, her recent policy of attaching to her Scotland, in a lasting amity with England ; in order to cut off all hope, not only from foreign enemies, but even of assistance from her son, in favour of the

^x In his letter of the 2d of Feb. 1586, in the Pap. Office.

^y In his letter of the 19th Feb. 1585-6, in the Pap. Office.

Queen of Scots: For, according to Camden, Elizabeth suspected, that Mary, being vexed, by the rejection of her conditions, which she had offered to her good cousin, by Naue; and apprehensive of the effects of Leicester's association, as well as, of her removal to Tutbury, might harbour the most dangerous designs: It was even supposed, that the Jesuits, and refugees, might give her very unfit, yet different counsels. Owing to those suspicions, and causes, Elizabeth entered into stricter ties, with the Scottish King, to whom she agreed to allow an annual subsidy; and to give him a verbal assurance, that his title to the crown should not be injured. Under those profligate reasonings, James was, induced, by Randolph, to enter into that treaty, whatever Courcellis, the French ambassador, could suggest to the contrary.*

Meanwhile, there seem to have been some dangerous projects entertained, by one Ballard, and other Jesuits, against Elizabeth's safety. About Whitsunday 1586, he appears to have drawn Babington into their concert, traitorous, as it was, in them, and dangerous as it was to Elizabeth: Yet, she brought this danger upon herself, whatever it were, by the violence of

* Camden, 331—36.

her persecutions. Babington seems to have grafted upon that design the project of an invasion, in order to effect their purpose against Elizabeth, and to deliver Mary, from thralldom.^a

The Scottish Queen, without knowing, as it should seem, the extent, and object, of all those concerts, wrote in cypher, to Babington; blaming him, for his long silence; and desiring him, to send her a packet of letters, which the secretary of the French ambassador had delivered to him. Babington sent the letters; excused himself, for his silence; and intimated the concert, into which he had entered with so many plotters, for her release, and Elizabeth's tragedy. The Scottish Queen is said to have written on the 27th of July, in answer to Babington, in this manner: She commended his attachment to the catholick faith, and to her interests; yet, she advised him, to act circumspectly: That the avowed pretence of all their designs should be their apprehension of the puritans; that there ought to be no rising, unless they were assured of foreign aid; that Arundel, and his brothers, Northumberland, and other eminent men, ought to be drawn into her concert; that there ought to be a disturbance, in Ireland, while their plot was ex-

^a Camden, 337-8.

ploded, in England. To obtain her relief, the attempt was said to be thus laid down : either by overthrowing a cart, in the gate, or setting fire to the stables, or intercepting her, as she rode out, for recreation : And, lastly, Babington was commanded, as it was said, to pass his word to the other gentlemen, concerning their reward, for their respective services.^b

The genuineness of this letter was suspected, at the time, both for its matter, and manner. The Queen denied it : Yet, did her secretaries, when they were privately examined, seem to

^b Ib. 338. It was forgotten, in all these projects, for Mary's relief, that she was no longer young, and active ; that she was *a cripple* ; and could not walk, without help. Even on the 3d of June 1586, Paulet informed Walsingham : “ The Scottish Queen is getting a little strength, and
 “ has been out, in her coach ; and is sometimes carried, in
 “ a chair, to one of the adjoining ponds, to see the diversion
 “ of duck-hunting ; but, she is not able to go [walk] with-
 “ out support, on each side.” Dispatch, in the Paper Office. Yet, in a supposed letter of the Queen to Morgan, dated the 27th of July, Mary is made to say : “ She is not yet brought
 “ so low [in her health] but that I am able to handle my
 “ cross-bow, for killing a deer, and to gallop after the
 “ hounds on horseback, as this afternoon I intend to do,
 “ within the limits of this park, and could elsewhere, if it
 “ were permitted.” This letter the Queen of Scots could not have written. It is in the Cotton library, and is printed in Murdin, 534. It was plainly one of the many forgeries, in which Walsingham so much delighted, at that period.

have proved a correspondence, between the Queen, and Babington, though not in her own hand; but from her dictation to Naue, who wrote in French, what was translated by Curl, her other secretary. The sincerity of their confessions, however, was suspected; as we learn, from Camden,^c and the Queen insisted, that as her secretaries had taken an oath of fidelity to her, when they swore contrary to that previous oath, they were not entitled to credit. It is, also, certain, that Walsingham was too busy, with his counterplots, and his spies, with his counterfeit letters, and his intercepted epistles, to be entirely credited, even when he did speak the truth.^d

This secretary, however, had the merit of discovering the whole plot of Babington, and his complotters. They were taken, and examined; they were convicted and punished, as traitors deserved. Yet, all this while, were the

^c Camden's Elizabeth, 346.

^d There remains in the Cotton lib. Calig. C. ix. 458-9. *the voluntary confession* of Thomas Harrison, avowing himself to be the secretary of Sir F. Walsingham; charging Secretary Walsingham, Philips, his decypherer, Maude, &c. with having contrived the conspiracy, for which the Queen of Scots had been put to death. Whatever there may be in this, there were certainly much unfairness, and illegality, in collecting, and producing the evidence against the Queen of Scots.

Scotish Queen, and her servants, kept so closely, by Paulet, that she was quite ignorant of those events, though they were known, in every part of England. But, as soon as those conspirators were arrested, Sir Thomas Gorges was sent, to give her a brief relation of the whole; which he, purposely, communicated, just as she had taken horse, to ride out: Neither was she permitted to return, from her ride, to the castle; but, was led about, under the pretence of doing her honour, from one gentleman's house to another, in that neighbourhood.^e Meantime, certain commissioners, under Elizabeth's special authority, committed Naue, and Curl, the Scotish Queen's secretaries, to several keepers; that they might have no communication with each other, or their mistress.

^e The above representation, which has passed into history, is not supported, by the State Papers. The fact appears to be, from Paulet's letters, that the Queen was removed, on the 8th of August 1586, to Tixhall, from Chartley, when Elizabeth's commissaries were expected there, to arrest her secretaries, and to seize her papers. Waad, and Alley, Elizabeth's two commissioners, for seizing the Scotish Queen's papers, conveyed to Paulet the *verbal* instructions of Walsingham, which Paulet promised, with the grace of God, duly, to obey. Paulet's letters to Walsingham, 3d and 8th Aug. 1586, in the Paper Office. *Verbal instructions* were, plainly, such as could not be avowed.

They also broke into the closet of the unfortunate queen, and seized her cabinet, and papers, which were sealed up, and sent to court. Paulet, as he was commanded, took possession of her money : lest *she should use it, for corruption.*^f Her cabinets being searched, in the presence of Elizabeth, there were found many letters, from persons, beyond the sea, as also copies of letters written, in answer, and about sixty indexes, or tables of private cyphers, and characters : There were, moreover, discovered letters, from some English noblemen to her, full of expressions of respect, and attachment to her, which Elizabeth read in silence, according to her motto, *video et taceo* ; I see, and am silent. But, those nobles, hearing that the Scottish Queen's papers had been perused, by Elizabeth, from that time, acted as mortal enemies to Mary ; in order to conceal their own shame, and to blunt Elizabeth's anger.^g

^f Paulet to Walsingham, 10th Septemb. 1586, in the Cotton library. Calig. C. ix. 293 ; says that he had seized Mary's money ; and dispersed her servants. Elizabeth, and her ministers, used *no corruption* against the Scottish Queen !

^g Camden, 343-4. Paulet afterwards found, in Naue's room, a casket, with a small sum of money, and all the Queen of Scots' *seals*, which are in great number, to serve for private packets, and all other purposes, said Paulet to Walsingham. Letter, 15th Sept. 1586, in the Paper Office.

The conspirators being executed, and a general indignation raised against the Scottish Queen, Naue, and Curl, her two secretaries were examined. They acknowledged what they subscribed, that the letters sent to Babington, by their mistress, was in their hand writing, as they were dictated, by her in French, to Naue, and translated, by Curl, and then cast into cyphers. Neither did they deny but that she had received letters, from Babington, and wrote the answer, which has been stated. Whether these secretaries were bribed, to confess this, saith Camden, I cannot say: But, it is certain, he adds, that Walsingham had made them promises:^h And, their credit was impeached, by the Scottish Queen; as they had taken a previous oath of fidelity to her.ⁱ In fair discussion,

^h Camden, 345. There remains, in the Cotton lib. Calig. C. ix. 294, a letter from Walsingham to Curl, Mary's secretary, about *a favour demanded*.

ⁱ Shortly after Sir Ed. Wotton was sent to France; to inform the King of the whole of those proceedings; and to show him *copies* of the Scottish Queen's letters, and of others, which were attested, by *the depositions of certain noblemen of England, to justify the truth of the whole*. Camden, 345. This last fact evinces, that Elizabeth's ministers themselves doubted their own proofs, as unworthy of credit, at the French court: Moreover, this is one of the odious artifices, which those ministers, had long played off, in France, to calumniate the Scottish Queen.

those, who are in the constant habit of artifice, must always be supposed, to be acting according to their principle: From the accession of Elizabeth to the present moment, her whole conduct to the Scottish Queen had been a continued act of wrong, and injustice, and deceit: The State Papers of her reign evince the fact. Her ministers, particularly, Burghley, and Walsingham, constantly, acted upon the immoral principles, that every thing *convenient* was *lawful*; that the *end* justified the *means*: The *Cabala*, and *Digges's ambassador*, are the records of their guilt.

As soon as Chartley had been sufficiently searched, by Waad, and the other commissioners, Paulet resolved, to carry his charge again to that castle. He had not spoken with *that lady*, since their arrival at Tixhall, and did not intend to speak to her. She had not stirred out of her room, or gallery: her attendants had no access to her; and they were prevented, from having pen, ink, and paper.^k On the 30th of August, he carried back the spoliated Queen to Chartley; as she left Tixhall, she said to the poor people, who were assembled about

^k Paulet to Walsingham, 22d August 1586, in the Paper Office: Paulet no longer speaks of his charge, *as Queen*, but as *that lady*.

the door: "I have nothing for you; I am a
 "beggar, as well as you; all is taken from
 "me." When she came up to the gentlemen,
 she said, weeping: "Good gentlemen, I am not
 privy to any thing intended against the Queen."
 When she arrived at Chartley, she refused to
 take the keys; and desired Mr. Darrel to open
 the doors of her coffers, and when she saw, that
 all her papers were taken away, she said, with
 indignation, "there were two things, which
 "they could not take away; her English
 "blood; and her Catholick religion."¹ At this
 period, Fotheringay castle, in Northampton-
 shire, was fixed on, by Elizabeth, as the future
 residence of the Scottish Queen; where she is
 to remain a prisoner, with some regard to her
 degree, and quality. The Queen arrived, at
 Fotheringay, on the 25th of September 1586.^m

What should be done with the Scottish Queen,
 the privy counsellors differed in their opinions.
 Some said, that no new rigorous courses should
 be taken with her; as she was not the author
 of the mischief, but an accessory to it. Others
 proposed, that for the preservation of religion,

¹ Paulet to Walsingham, 27th August, in the Paper
 Office.

^m Paulet to Walsingham, 25th Septemb. 1586, in the
 Paper Office.

she ought to be put to death, under the law. Leicester thought rather, by poison; and sent privately a divine to Walsingham, to satisfy him, that it was lawful; as if a divine could make obvious wrong to be just, from a reference to the occasion, or to scripture. But Walsingham protested against any violence of that sort; and added, that he had counteracted the Earl of Morton's advice, that she ought to be put to death on the conterminous borders.ⁿ The privy counsellors now differed, among themselves, concerning the law, on which Mary ought to be, formally, prosecuted: Whether on the statute of treasons [25 Ed. iii.] or on the late act of the 27th of Elizabeth, which was made, for this special occasion: And, this last opinion prevailed; as being most appropriate to such a case, and most suitable to such a personage.

ⁿ Ib. 346.

SECTION XIX.

From Mary's Removal to Fotheringay, till her Death.

THE Scottish Queen entered the fatal castle of Fotheringay, on the 25th of September 1586, as we have seen. She was already treated, as a criminal ; while she only knew, that her secretaries had been arrested, and her most confidential papers carried away, by Elizabeth's orders, for the guilty purpose of establishing obvious wrong.

The Scottish Queen had, scarcely, arrived at Fotheringay, when Elizabeth wrote her a letter, which shows, at once, her coarse vulgarity, and domineering temper : She supposed the Scottish Queen, to be void of all conscience, in denying her privity, with the late attempts, notwithstanding the clearest proofs ; informing her, that she had appointed commissioners, to charge her, personally, with her guilty conduct, and requiring her, to answer their charges. But, the two Queens acted upon quite different principles : Elizabeth thought of nothing, but her own state, and person : Mary felt, that she had been eighteen years a prisoner to her

cousin's criminal passions, without right, and without a cause. As to Elizabeth's proofs, they might have been confuted. Mary's guilt consisted, in continued endeavours to free herself from a long imprisonment, which, from its commencement, was indefensible, even by Cecil's ability: And being thus unjustifiable, Elizabeth acted wrong, and Mary acted right. Elizabeth, by inflicting such an imprisonment, avowed her hostility to Mary; while Mary, by that hostility, acquired a right to act with equal hostility against Elizabeth. When Mary denied her privy to any attempt on Elizabeth, she might act thus, without any bad faith, or illegitimate meaning. Even when Elizabeth brought her proofs, in a formal manner, against Mary, there were many, who refused their assent, on account of the artifices, and knavery of those, who produced them. That forgeries had been committed, by Elizabeth's instruments; and that Mary's letters were forged, cannot well be doubted; as we have already seen.

Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Paulet, and one Barker, a notary, on the 6th of October 1586, delivered Elizabeth's letter to the Scottish Queen. When she had read this communication from Elizabeth, Mary said: She was sorry, that the Queen's Majesty should be so ill-in-

formed against her, after all her offers of reconciliation, and service; that she would not prejudice her rank, and state, as a Queen, in which she was born, to answer as a subject, as she was commanded, or set so prejudicial a precedent to foreign princes; that she was ignorant of the English laws, and knew not who are her peers; that her papers had been taken from her, and nobody dares speak on her behalf: And she finally protested her innocence; and remitted her cause to the judgment of foreign princes. In the afternoon, however, she was asked, by Paulet, and Barker, if she would acknowledge her answers, which she confirmed, with this addition, that she denied, her ever being under the protection of the English laws, as stated in the Queen's letter; but, on the contrary, had been detained, as a prisoner, ever since her arrival, in England. The Queen thus strengthened her answer, by an argument, which converted almost the whole charges against her into mere sophistry. If the protection, which the law affords, infers obedience, in return; what obedience is due, where there is no protection given! When the case of the Scottish Queen was, accurately, stated, it formed an anomaly, which was quite unprecedented, in any history, or in any law.

In order to carry Elizabeth's design into

effect, of convicting, criminally, her cousin, and heir presumptive, under the act of the 27th of her reign, a commission was directed to twenty-four of the nobility, of the privy counsellors, of the officers of state, of the chancellor, and the several chiefs of the law courts, who, in general, were men of great knowledge, though it must be acknowledged, that they were actuated, by a little too much zeal, and somewhat too much prejudice, against the calumniated Queen.^o

In the meantime, the opinions of lawyers, in several faculties, were taken, upon the *legality*, of the proceeding against the Scottish Queen, who, generally, answered, in the affirmative, though their opinions have been questioned, in modern times, as founded upon very insufficient argument.^p The Judges were consulted, on this difficult case.^q Their opinion was given in this manner: 1. The facts, which were sufficiently proved against her, are treason, in a subject, wheresoever committed; 2dly. The same facts, if committed, by an alien, are trea-

^o See the list of the commissioners, in Camden, 346-8.

^p See Ward's Enquiry into the Foundation, and History of the Law of Nations, in Europe, ii.

^q In a large MS. in a hand of nearly the time, I find the opinion of the judges, with a MS. note, saying that their opinion had not been collected into the state trials.

son; 3dly. The same facts are, also, treason, in the Scottish Queen; and if she be respected, as a private person, punishable, by the ordinary courts of law; and being respected, as a Queen, it is thought, the meetest manner of trial, and proceeding against her were by parliament; 4thly. There is not found any book case, judgment, or precedent, that she, or any other prince, likewise offending, hath been, or ought, to be,^r for the dignity of their persons, exempted, from the general laws of treason, and the pains thereof.^r The opinion of the judges seems to have been, that the law of England instantly attached on the Scottish Queen, the moment, that she landed, in England; so as to prevent the Queen's departure; so as to give Elizabeth every authority over Mary, without giving Mary any authority over Elizabeth. In fact, Elizabeth made Mary a prisoner, without having committed any offence against any law: But, could manifest wrong be defended, as positive right, by the law of England, or by any other law?

^r They quoted, however, no opinion, that there was to be found any book case, judgment, or precedent, for the affirmative position of the law, attaching upon a sovereign, coming within the realm, in a peaceable manner, for a legitimate object.

When the Scottish Queen arrived, within the realm of England, some of the ablest statesmen of England gave it, as their opinions, in writing, that she could not be detained, unless she were disgraced, in the eye of the world,—by calumny. And Sir Francis Knollys, the first warden of Mary, complained to Elizabeth, that the responsibility of carrying the Scottish Queen, a prisoner, from Carlisle to Bolton castle, had been, improperly cast upon him. This complaint brought out Mr. Secretary Cecil, who was bred a lawyer, and was a very able statesman, with his reasons, “to prove the justice of the “Queen’s Majesty, in detaining the Scottish “Queen.” 1st. She is a lawful prisoner, by good treaties: But, he did not quote treaties, which did not exist: 2dly. She may not depart, until she have satisfied the wrong, that she hath done the Queen’s Majesty, in openly claiming the crown, and not making just recompense: The wrong was committed, by Henry II. as Elizabeth claimed, openly, to be King of France, by ordering the Dauphin, and Mary, his wife, who were under age, and under his authority, to assume the titles of England. But, when the Queen of Scots became a free person, by being a widow, she disavowed this pretension, and

* Goodall, ii. 277, which has been already quoted.

declared, that she had no claim to the crown of England, during Elizabeth's life: The Scottish Queen, therefore, made just recompense to Elizabeth, by her disavowal, and disclaimer. 3dly. The Queen's Majesty's superiority over the crown of Scotland. This, only, showed Cecil's ignorance, however wise he affected to be: For, Acts of Parliament had been passed, in England, confirming the treaty of Northampton, which acknowledged the independence of Scotland, and those acts remained in force: 4thly. The Queen's Majesty was bound, in consequence, to answer the petitions of her subjects, in matters of blood, upon her subjects: This supposed the feudal superiority of England over Scotland; and this being renounced, by existing Acts of Parliament, this argument of Cecil is absurd. Such were the reasons of a very able statesman, and jurist, for Elizabeth's right, of imprisoning Mary, which were so groundless, and irrational, coming from such a man, they only evinced, that no valid reason could be given, for the right of Elizabeth to detain the Scottish Queen, as a prisoner.

If Elizabeth had no right to imprison Mary, whence did the Queen of England, who was the fountain of justice, and of law, derive authority, to legislate, for the Queen of Scots, and to adjudge an equal sovereign, whom she had

no right to restrain. Knollys, the first warden of Mary, provided horsemen, whom he armed with pistols, and to whom he gave orders, to fire upon the Scottish Queen, if she attempted to make her escape.* Shrewsbury, who was the gaoler of the same Queen, for more than a dozen years, talked very authoritatively of putting her to death, if any attempt were made, to carry her away. They derived their authority, as well as their instructions, from Elizabeth, which were drawn, by Cecil, who must have considered the Scottish Queen as a prisoner of war; as they treated her as such, without avowing it. This brings us to the opinion of Zouch, the civilian, in the subsequent century, who maintained, that no sovereign can be tried, in the courts of any other sovereign, though the resident sovereign may, upon cause given, be proceeded against, as a sovereign, at war. We may now perceive, that Elizabeth, when she came to the last great act, but one, of taking

* Suppose the Queen of Scots had been pistolled, on that occasion, could the act have been justified, before the world? Elizabeth would have sacrificed Knollys to the resentment of France, and Spain: But, a prisoner of war, attempting to escape, may be shot. Yes: Yet, the Queen of Scots was not a prisoner, of war. We thus may perceive, that when *the fact* is recurred to, it does not warrant the proceedings, which were founded upon *fiction*.

Mary's life, was still at a loss, with the help of her lawyers, and her statesmen, to determine, by what law, and right, she could put to *death* the object of her jealousy, and her hate. From the moment, that Elizabeth imprisoned the Queen of Scots, without right, Elizabeth's whole conduct to the object of her hatred, throughout eighteen years, was a continued *wrong*; If this were true; then had the Scottish Queen *rights*, correlative to that wrong, which were winked out of sight, and were thereby violated."

Those commissioners, without entering into questions of moral fitness, or right, naturally,

" There remains, in the Cotton library, a letter, from Elizabeth to Burghley, and Walsingham, to authorize them to confer, privately, with the Scottish Queen, for her resolution, to answer the indictment; to have consideration of many strangers, who were gone to Fotheringay, with ill affections: and to have Naue, Curl, and Parker, ready, if the Scottish Queen should desire to have them confirm their examinations. This letter is dated the 7th of October 1586. Calig. ix. 329. There also remains another letter, in the same library, dated on the 8th of October, from Secretary Davison to Burghley: concerning the last mentioned letter of the Queen, which was inclosed in this; with some court news, particularly, of another conspiracy: and of the answer, which she caused to be made to the French ambassador, who had presumed to assert, that the Queen of Scots was not subject to the laws of England. Harl. MSS. 290, p. 180.

acted under the recent power, which had been given, by Elizabeth, under the act of Parliament. They met, on the 11th of October 1586, at Fotheringay castle, where the Scottish Queen was then confined.*

Meantime, on the 12th of October 1586, Burghley wrote, and circulated among the commissioners, and others, "A note of the indignities, and wrongs, done and offered, by the Queen of Scots, to the Queen's majesty;" forgetting, at the same time, to mention the indignities and wrongs, done, and committed by, the Queen's Majesty to the Scottish Queen." In private litigations, to solicit judges is held to be infamous. Here was an extraordinary court assembled, for trying a woman, and a queen, for her life. And it was, at this moment, that Burghley chose to produce his *note* of wrongs, and injuries done, and committed, by the Scottish Queen, *before she came into England, before she had left France.* In this manner did Burghley, who was one of the commissioners, show his own *impartiality*, and promote the *impartiality* of others. It required not this document to evince, that Elizabeth's whole proceedings, on this trial of a cousin, for her life,

* Camden, 348.

† In Burghley's *hand writing*; and published, in Murdin, 584-5.

were an illegitimate tissue of *wrong*, and *injury*, to a captive Queen.

In the afternoon, came to her some of the commissioners, with men, learned in the civil, and canon law : And the lord chancellor justified their authority, by their patent, and commission ; and showed, that neither her imprisonment, nor her prerogative of royal majesty, could exempt her, from answering, in this kingdom ; and with fair words advised her, to hear what should be objected against her, otherwise by authority of the law, they would proceed against her, though she were absent. To all this, the Queen answered, “ that she was no subject, “ and rather would die a thousand deaths, than “ acknowledge herself a subject ; considering “ that, by such an acknowledgement, she should “ wrong the sublimity of royal majesty, and “ withal confess herself, to be bound, by all the “ laws of England, even in matter of religion. “ Nevertheless, she was ready to answer all “ things, in a free, and full Parliament : As for “ this meeting, it was for aught she knew, devised against her, being already condemned, “ and forejudged to die, purposely, to give “ some colour of a just proceeding : She warned “ them, therefore, to look to their consciences, “ and to remember, that the theatre of the “ world is much wider than England.” Then,

she began to complain of the injuries done her : But, the lord treasurer, interrupting her, began to reckon up, Elizabeth's kindnesses towards her : When she seemed, to make little account of what he had thus said, as well she might, from the recollection of so many years of wrong, and injury, the commissioners departed.

The commissioners now sent her the contents of the commission, that she might see how reasonably they intended to proceed : She did not object to the commissioners, but to the law, on which their power was founded ; as it was unjust; being made, purposely, against her ; and was without example, and was such, as she would not submit to. After many scruples and objections, she still refused to appear before the commissioners, as she would not own herself a subject to the crown of England. Sir Christopher Hatton, at length, induced the Queen to depart, from her firmness, by desiring her, to lay aside her claim of privilege, which was now of no use to her, “ and shew your innocence, by “ appearing to your trial ; least, by avoiding “ trial, you draw upon yourself a suspicion, and “ stain your reputation with a blot :” She yielded at last, says Camden, but with much ado, and ill will, lest she should seem, as she said, to derogate from her predecessors, or successors ; but was very desirous to clear herself, from

crimes objected to her, being persuaded, by Hatton's reasons.

The court, at length, assembled ; and the Scottish Queen took her seat : The chancellor now made her a short speech ; importing that the Queen's majesty had appointed these commissioners to hear matters, which might be objected against her, and how she could, by clearing herself, make her innocence appear to the world. The Queen now rising up said, that she came into England to move the aid, which had been promised her ; and yet had been, ever since, detained in prison : She, thereupon, entered her protest ; and added, that she now appeared personally, to refute the crimes objected against her ; and hereof she prayed her own attendants to bear witness. The chancellor, in reply, insisted that her protestation was vain : For, whoever, of what place, quality, or degree soever, he be, should offend against the laws of England, was subject to the same laws. The Queen, on the contrary, insisted, that since she had never been protected, by the law, whatever her good sister had said, and as she was a sovereign Queen, who came, quietly, into England, for a peaceable object ; so ought she not to be tried, by a law, made after the event, with an insidious view to her. Here, then, is the difference of argumentation, be-

tween the lawyers, and the Queen, upon an unprecedented, and difficult question, which has induced intelligent men to say, that the public execution of the sentence, which was pronounced, by the commissioners, under such an act of Parliament, can only be regarded, as a legal murder.

The lawyers now proceeded, to allege, and prove, their several points, to endeavour, by illegitimate proofs, to ascertain her concernment, in the late conspiracy; and thus to infer her guilt. The Queen defended herself with dignity of manner, presence of mind, and vigour of intellect: When we recollect the artifices of the prosecutors, their counterfeits, their briberies; and compare them with her strong denials, her ingenious expositions, and satisfactory deductions, it is not easy to believe, that she had any purpose to affect Elizabeth's life, though the Scottish Queen had, no doubt, intrigued with foreign powers, perhaps, with domestic faction, to relieve her, from an imprisonment, which was unjust, in its origin, and odious, in its continuance. The court, at length, adjourned to the 25th of October; when the commissioners were to meet, in the star chamber.*

* Camden, 361, from memorials, and registers, of public

Meantime, the Scottish Queen's bodily complaints returned upon her, and she remained, generally, in bed, throughout the month of October, though she seemed not to be much moved, by those solemn proceedings, which had her life, for their end.⁷

The commissioners assembling, accordingly, in the star chamber, pronounced an unanimous

officers, who were actually present. On the 12th October 1586, Elizabeth wrote to Burghley, "for staying the sentence against the Queen of Scots, till the commissioners shall return to her presence, and report their proceedings." Harl.MSS. 290, fol. 184.

⁷ There remain two letters, in the Paper Office, from Paulet to Walsingham, 24th, 29th Octob. 1586 : He had lately had an interview with the Scottish Queen, who had been indisposed, within those two days, and taking medicine : He found her very calm, and quite undisturbed, with what had lately occurred. She was inquisitive, about the names of several of the commissioners ; asking who such a person, sitting in such a place, was ; making observations on their several speeches, &c. She said, casually, and apparently, without meaning, "that history made mention, how "this realm was used to blood," and then dropt the conversation. On the 29th, Paulet informed Walsingham, that the Scottish Queen's illness continues ; and she had kept her bed, five or six days, and still remains confined to it. Paulet rejoiced, on the 13th November 1586 ; that Sir Drue Drurye was to be associated with him, in the charge of the Scottish Queen ; as independent of his qualifications, he was an old, and intimate friend.

judgment against the Scottish Queen, which, at last, is full of the most egregious sophistry. This sentence, says Camden, which depended, wholly, upon the credit of her secretaries, and they not being brought face to face, according to the act of Parliament,^z begot much talk, and various discourses among the people: I have seen, he adds, Naue's apology to King James, in 1605, wherein he solemnly excused himself, that he was neither the author, nor the revealer, of the design, and that he had stoutly opposed the principal articles of accusation against his mistress, which appeareth not by the proceedings.^a The same day, the commissioners, and

^z 13th Eliz. ch. i.

^a Camden, 362. There remains, in Calig. ix. f. 294, a letter, from Secretary Walsingham to Curl, the secretary of the Scottish Queen, which evinces, that improper artifices had been used, to obtain his declaration: "Curle, you do greatly
"charge me with my promise; and do forget the favour
"you have received, by my mediation: Yet, your own con-
"science, and judgment, weighing the foulness of your
"offence, ought to tell you, that the favour, which you
"have already received, is extraordinary. That, which you
"have confessed is no more than that, which you saw no
"reason to deny, when you found yourself charged, by your
"fellow, Naue. I have, and will perform my promise, so
"far forth, as shall lye in me; the favour is to grow from
"her majesty; I can be, but a mediator, and therein I shall

the judges, published a declaration, that this sentence did nothing derogate, from King James's title, and honour, but that he was, in the same place, and right, as if such a sentence had never been pronounced. It should seem, then, that it was the Scottish Queen, alone, who was thus to be sacrificed to the guilty passions of Elizabeth.

The Parliament assembled a few days after. The Estates confirmed the sentence against the Scottish Queen: And, unanimously, besought the Queen, for the preservation of the true religion, the security of the realm, the Queen's own safety, and the safety of themselves, and their posterity, that the sentence against the Queen of Scots might be published. They called to her remembrance how fearful the examples of God's vengeance were upon king Saul, for sparing Agag, and upon king Ahab, for sparing the life of Benhadad. Elizabeth sent them a sermon, in answer; and prayed them to find out some other expedient, for

“ have the better ground to deal for you, when you shall
 “ lay yourself so open, as her majesty may see, in your re-
 “ morse for that, which is past, and a disposition to deserve
 “ her favour, by acquainting of her with your knowledge of
 “ such things, as may any way concern her estate. I pray
 “ God give you grace, to take profit of this advice. At the
 “ court, Septemb. 1586.”

sparing the Queen of Scots' life, and providing for her own security. They could find no other expedient, than the immediate death of the Scottish Queen. Elizabeth sent them additional reasons, for her own doubts, and scruples; and desired them, for the present, to content themselves, "with an answer, without an answer: If
" I should say, I will not do what you request,
" I might say, perhaps more than I intend: and
" if I should say, I will do it, I might plunge
" myself into as bad inconveniences, as you
" endeavour to preserve me from." ^b This contrariety, between those, who had too much religion, and those who had too little, certainly shows a strange state of the manners, and conditions, of persons, in that reformed age. Of the gross affectations, and dissimulation, of Elizabeth, there can be no doubt.

The Parliament had been, scarcely, prorogued, when Lord Buckhurst, and Beal, the clerk of the Privy Council, were sent to the Queen of Scots, to inform her, that sentence of death was pronounced upon her, which the Parliament had approved: She was, also, told, by those messengers, that while she lived, the religion of England could not be safe: And she was warned to prepare herself, for her mortal change, by expiation, and repentance. These messengers

^b Camden, 368.

were probably sent, upon Elizabeth's avowed principle, that Mary's head should never rest. But, she was disappointed : Mary, only, rejoiced, and thanked God, that she was thus taken to be an instrument, for re-establishing religion, in this island.^c She desired what has seldom been refused to less considerable personages, to have a priest of her own religion, to perform to her the last offices of religion : But, the same zeal, which dictated those unworthy proceedings, denied her this request. If we were to compare the state of the two queens, at that interesting moment, we should see Elizabeth full of fears, and agitation ; and Mary, equally, resigned, and firm.

The intercession of L'Aubespine, the French ambassador, interposed some delay, in the publication of the sentence : But, on the 4th of December 1586, through the solicitation of some courtiers, the sentence was proclaimed throughout the realm :^d In this proclamation,

^c To those frequent declarations, in favour of the Roman Catholick religion, the Queen of Scots had been driven, by persecution : For, in the Scottish Parliament of April 1567, she had passed an act, renouncing all foreign jurisdiction ecclesiastical, and granting general toleration : She, however, died a Roman Catholick.

^d On the same day, Paulet wrote Walsingham, in his usual temper ; expressing his surprise, at not hearing from him

Elizabeth acted up to her true character, by seriously protesting, that this avowal of the sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by necessity, and the prayers of her people: yet, as we learn, from Camden, there were some, who supposed this conduct of Elizabeth, to be mere artifice, as well as affectation.^e The character of that Queen was made up of artifice, and affectation: and she, only laboured, in her vocation, when she acted, with artifice, and affectation, throughout the sad catastrophe of the Queen of Scots's demise.

The publication of this sentence of death being made known to the Queen of Scots, far from being dismayed, with a steady countenance, and uplifted hands, she gave thanks to God, for her speedy relief. And, though Paulet, with the harshness of his nature, divested her of all the badges of royalty, and treated her as a woman of the meanest condition: yet, she

lately; and fearing that Fotheringay was forgotten, if he did not know, that the lady, under his charge, had given all her majesty's true and faithful subjects cause not to sleep, soundly, "till the head, and seedplot of all practices and "conspiracies be utterly extirpated:" He hoped soon to hear "of a happy resolution; but opportunities neglected "are very often accompanied with dangerous effects. The "lady is ill in one of her knees; but that is no new thing."

^e Camden, 368.

endured it, with her usual patience, and accustomed dignity. Having with some difficulty obtained leave of him to write, she, by a letter to Elizabeth of the 19th of December, endeavoured to clear herself of all hostility, and of malice against her; thanking God, for this condemnation, who was now pleased to put an end to her lamentable pilgrimage: And she prayed Elizabeth, that she might owe her requested favours to herself: First, that when her adversaries were glutted with her blood, her body might be conveyed, by her servants, to be buried in France, where her mother rested in peace: Secondly, in regard she feared the secret tyranny of some, that she might not be put to death, in secret, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but in the sight of her servants, and others, who might give testimony of her faith, of her christian departure, to prevent those false reports, with which her adversaries might load her memory: Thirdly, she asked, that her servants might freely depart whither they pleased, and enjoy those legacies, which she had bequeathed them, by her testament: All those requests she made, in the name of Christ, by their near kindred, by the soul, and memory of Henry VII, their common progenitor, and by the royal dignity, which she had borne. Lastly, she earnestly entreated an

answer, in her own hand; in order, that she might see, that she had not asked those last favours, in vain. Whether this letter reached Elizabeth's hands, Camden doubts: But, that those requests were ever granted, there cannot be a doubt. About this transaction, there were infinite discourses, at that time, according to the affections, and dispositions, of men: The hard fate of Mary, and the habitual dissimulation of Elizabeth, will interest the passions of mankind, while the history of both shall remain.

Meantime, Henry III. of France, as well by himself, as by his several ambassadors, made the most sincere, and powerful efforts, to save Mary, from the axe of Elizabeth. The Scottish King, who was now twenty, actuated, as well by the constant entreaties of Coursellis, the French ambassador, as by his natural affections, interested himself warmly, for his mother, who had never injured him. But the agents, whom he employed, only betrayed both. What could be expected, from Archibald Douglas, Morton's agent, in his father's murder, and the master of Gray, a man of utter profligacy, who whispered in Elizabeth's ear, *mortua non mordet*, a dead woman bites not.

Elizabeth, who was naturally slow, as well as capricious, in her resolutions, began, at this late day, to consider, whether it were better to

put Mary to death, or to spare her. She feared, what would happen then to her person, and thereafter, to her reputation, if she should put her to death: New phantoms rose up before her guilty eyes, from the Scottish King, who would, on his mother's death, be brought a step nearer to her throne. On the contrary, the courtiers, continually, suggested reasons to her, for carrying into execution the sentence of the law. The French King, also, interposed vigorously, in favour of the Scottish Queen, by sending Mons. Bellievre,^f for that purpose, who suggested, and gave in, very elaborate reasons, in support of his master's affectionate interposition. These reasons were as elaborately answered, with the help of Burghley. When arguments failed, the French ambassador *leidger* L'Aubespine, entered into concerts, for taking off Elizabeth; but, he being discovered, he was sent for, and charged with this dangerous practice; but, denying it, he was warned how he acted contrary to his duty, as an ambassador. This plot induced the enemies of the Scottish Queen, to frighten Elizabeth, with false rumours, which were propagated, throughout the the realm.^g Elizabeth wondered that, of all the associators, for the safety of her person, none

^f Camden, 374.

^g Ib. 379.

of them would dispatch the Scottish Queen: No one would commit such an act; as no one could trust Elizabeth. She was, at the first of February 1586-7, driven, to direct her Secretaries, Walsingham, and Davison, to urge Paulet, and Drury, to assassinate the Queen of Scots. But, these wardens of the attainted Queen, however puritanic, and strict, were too circumspect to adopt a suggestion, which had they effected, had ruined themselves, their families, and their fame for ever.^h For Elizabeth, according to her guilty policy, would instantly

^h See Walsingham and Davison's letter, dated 1st Feb. 1586-7, to Paulet, and Drury, with their answer, on the 2d of February, declining such an act. [In Hearne's *R. of Glo'ster*, 673—6.] Paulet wrote to Secretary Davison, on the 8th of February, 1586-7: "If I should say, I have burnt the papers, you wot of, I cannot tell if any body would believe me: and therefore, I reserve them, to be delivered to your own hands, at my coming to London." [The original is in the Paper Office.] The allusion above was made to the treacherous letter of Walsingham and Davison, which they wrote, by Elizabeth's order, to Paulet and Drury, to assassinate the Scottish Queen. But, this nefarious correspondence had been entered in Paulet's letter book, whence they were transcribed, by Hearne's friend. In the Harley MSS. No. 6994, Art. 29, and 30, there are copies of those letters, partly, in Lord Oxford's own hand; which were lent, by him, to the Duke of Chandos, who returned them, in a letter, dated, at Cannons, August 23d, 1725; expressing his opinion, "that they are a very valuable curiosity, and deserve well to be preserved." But, neither Lord Oxford, nor the duke,

have charged them as murderers, and as such would have sacrificed them, to save herself, who had gone full far enough, in baseness, when she directed a woman, a relation, and a queen, to be assassinated. But, she did go farther in such iniquity. Her attempt on Paulet, and Drury, having failed, by their refusal, to commit an aggravated murder, rumours were spread, that London was fired, and the Queen of Scots had escaped; precepts of *hue and cry* were sent to the several towns, to retake the fugitive:ⁱ As these facts are true, the question arises, why such rumours should have been propagated, but to terrify the people, who might form a tumult, and in the

seem to have known, that those notorious epistles had been already published, in 1722, by Dr. Mackenzie, in his *Life of Mary*. [Lives, iii. 340-1.] They were, also, published, in 1725, in Jebb's *History of the Life, and Reign of Mary*, App. viii. It was not sufficient to say, that those letters were *curiosities*: They will for ever remain indubitable proofs of the murderous spirit of Queen Elizabeth.

ⁱ On the 4th of February, 1586-7, the mayor and aldermen of Exeter wrote to Lord Burghley, "to know how to act, with regard to a precept of *hue and cry*, to retake the Queen of Scots, who was said therein to have made her escape." On the same day, the mayor and aldermen of Exeter wrote to the Privy council; "to know, whether it were true, that London was fired, and the Queen of Scots escaped." [Lansdowne MSS. in the Brit. Mus. v. 51, Art. 42 and 43.]

midst of their terror, and agitation, might lay their bloody hands upon the Scottish Queen, infirm, as she was. But, this artifice, also, failing, Elizabeth still delayed the execution of that detested object, in the hope, that time, and chance, might supply some man-killer to perform the guilty deed.

Elizabeth now became much more miserable than Mary, the hated object of her guilty purpose, who submitted to her hard fortune, with the dignity of a queen, and the resignation of a martyr. On the contrary, Elizabeth was distracted with the most perplexing thoughts, which so troubled her shattered resolution, that she gave herself wholly up to solitariness; sat often mute; and frequently sighing, muttered to herself "*aut fer, aut feri,*" either bear with her, or strike her; out of I know not what emblem, saith Camden, "*Nè feriari feri,*" strike, lest thou be stricken.^k What is this, but a description of frenzy. We may say with SHAKESPEARE,

" Upon her eye-balls murd'rous tyranny

" Sat, in grim majesty, to fright the world."

How Elizabeth was relieved from her misery; and how Mary was brought under the axe of

^k Camd. Eliz. 382.

the law, we may learn the genuine, and historical fact, from Secretary Davison's apology, to Secretary Walsingham; which shows, distinctly, how Elizabeth was freed, from her phrenetick humour; and how the warrant for the execution of the Scottish Queen, was sent, from Whitehall, without her knowledge.¹

“The Queen, after the departure of the French, and Scottish ambassadors, *of her own motion*, commanded me, to deliver the warrant, for executing the sentence against the Queen of Scots: When I had delivered it, she signed it, readily, with her own hand: When she had so done, she commanded it, to be sealed, with the great seal of England; and, in a jesting manner, said, Go, tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick, although, I fear me, he will die, for sorrow, when he hears it. She added, also, the reasons of her deferring it so long; namely, lest she might seem, to have been violently, or maliciously, drawn thereto, whereas, in the meantime, she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover, *she blamed Paullet, and Drury, that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would*

¹ It is literally copied from Camden, out of the apologetical discourse of Davison to Walsingham: The narrative is very curious, in itself, and settles the fact, beyond a doubt.

feel their pulses, touching this matter. The next day, after it [the warrant] was passed under the great seal, she commanded me, by Killegrew, that it should not be done; and when I informed her, that it was done, already, she found fault, with such great haste, telling me that, in the judgment of some wise men, another course might be taken. I answered, that course was always safest, and best, which was most just. But, fearing lest she would lay the fault upon me, as she had laid the putting to death of the Duke of Norfolk upon the lord Burghley, I acquainted Hatton, with the whole matter; protesting that, I would not plunge myself any deeper, in so great a business. He, presently, imparted it to the Lord Burghley, and the Lord Burghley to the rest of the council; who all consented, to have the execution hastened, and every one of them vowed, to bear an equal share, in the blame, and sent Beal away with the warrant, and letters. The third day after, when, by a dream, which she told of the Queen of Scots's death, I perceived, that she wavered in her resolution, I asked her, whether she had changed her mind. She answered, No; but another course might have been devised: And, withal she asked me, whether I had received any answer, from Paulet; whose letter, when I showed it her, wherein he

flatly refused to undertake that, which stood not with honour, and justice; she waxing angry, accused him, and others, who had bound themselves, by the association, of perjury, and breach of their vow, as those, who had promised great matters, for their prince's safety, but would perform nothing. Yet, there are, said she, who will do it [murder Mary] for my sake. But, I shewed her, how dishonourable, and unjust a thing this would be; and withal, into how great danger she would bring Paulet, and Drury, by it: For, if she approved the fact, she would draw upon herself, both danger, and dishonour, not without the note of injustice; and if she disallowed it, she would utterly undo men of great desert, and their whole posterity. And, afterwards, she gave me a light check, the same day, that the Queen of Scots was not executed; *because she was not yet put to death.*" Such was Davison's account of this transaction, which evinces the baseness of Elizabeth, the zeal of Burghley, the unfaithfulness of the council, and the execution of the Queen of Scots, by *juggle*, rather than, by *fairness*, by apparent warrant, rather than, by real authority. The warrant, and other documents, which were sent to Fotheringay, for the execution of such a personage, were formal and legitimate; but they wanted the life, and soul, of such pro-

ceedings; in wanting the final assent of the Queen's majesty. When common criminals, who are adjudged, to lose their lives, by publick execution, are executed, *otherwise, than the sentence required, it is considered, as murder*: When the Scottish Queen was executed, without the final direction of the supreme magistrate, what was the guilt? and where was the responsibility? Burghley was the guilty agent; and Elizabeth was the odious magistrate, who, by dissimulation, introduced illegality, where every point ought to be the most precise, and every command the most legal. "*Dissimulation,*" said BACON, Lord Verulam, "is but a faint
"kind of policy; for it asketh a strong wit,
"and a strong heart, to know when to tell
"truth, and to do it:" But, the *irresolution* of Elizabeth denuded her even of that sort of *dissimulation*, which would have enabled her, to exercise this faint kind of policy; as she knew not, when, on any occasion, to tell truth, and to do it, according to political justice, and moral equity.

The Privy Council, learning, that the warrant, for the execution of the Scottish Queen was signed, by the Queen's Majesty, and sealed; and Burghley urging the danger of delay, immediately sent down Beal, their clerk, with the warrant, and authority, to the Earls of Shrews-

bury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and others, to see her executed, according to law. The council thus acted upon the principle of the difficulty of fixing Elizabeth's resolution, taking upon themselves the responsibility of acting, without authority, in a case so important.^m

As soon as the earls came to Fotheringay, on the 7th of February ; imparting the matter to Paulet, and Drury, they came to the Queen of Scots ; informed her of the cause of their coming ; read to her the warrant ; and admonished her, to prepare for death, on the morrow. The Queen, though somewhat surprised, undauntedly said, with a composed spirit, " I did not think, that the Queen my sister, would have consented to my death, who am not subject to her laws ; but, seeing her pleasure is so, death shall be to me most welcome ; neither is that soul worthy of the high and everlasting joys above, whose body cannot endure the stroke of the executioner."ⁿ She now prayed them, that she might have conference with her almoner, her confessor, and her master of household, Melville. The earls flatly refused her confessor, and recommended to her the Dean of Peterborough ; whom she refusing, the Earl of Kent, turning towards her, said,

^m Camden, 382.

ⁿ Id.

with heat, “ your *life* will be the *death* of our “ *religion*, as contrariwise, your *death* will be “ the *life* of it.” Such was the charity of Kent, whatever might be his religion ! Mention being made of Babington, she, constantly, denied his conspiracy, to have been, at all, known to her, and the revenge of her wrong, she left to God. Then enquiring what was become of Naue, and Curl ; she asked, whether it were ever heard of before, that servants were suborned, and accepted, for witnesses, against their master’s life.^o

When the earls were departed, she commanded supper to be hastened, that she might the better dispose of her concernments. She supped, sparingly, as her manner was. Being at supper, and spying her servants, both men, and women, weeping, she comforted them, with great magnanimity ; and bade them leave mourning, and rather rejoice, that she was now to depart out of a world of miseries. Turning to Burgoin, her physician, she asked him, if he did not now find the force of truth to be great. They say, quoth she, that I must die, because I have plotted against the Queen’s life ; yet, the Earl of Kent tells me, that there is no other

^o She did not know, that there was a statute of Elizabeth, that required, in such a case, the witnesses to have been brought into court, face to face, with her, and to be questioned by her.

cause of my death, but that they are afraid of their religion, because of me ; Neither hath my offence against the Queen, but their fear, because of me, drawn this end upon me ; while some under colour of religion, aim at their own advantages. Towards the end of supper, she drank to all her servants, who pledged her, in order, upon their knees ; mingling tears with their wine, and begging pardon of her, for their neglect of duty ; as she, also, did of them. After supper, she perused her will ; read over the inventory of her goods, and jewels, and wrote down the names of those, to whom she bequeathed each particular. To some, she distributed money, with her own hand. To her confessor, she wrote a letter ; begging that he would, in his prayers, make intercession for her with God. She wrote letters of recommendation, for her servants, to the King of France, and the Duke of Guise. At her wonted time, she went to bed ; slept some hours ; and then awaking, she spent the rest of the night in prayer.

The morning of the 8th of February, 1586-7, being come, she dressed herself, as gorgeously, as she was wont to do, on festival days ; and calling her servants together, she commanded her will to be read ; and prayed them, to take their legacies, in good part, for her ability would

not extend to greater matters. Then fixing her mind wholly upon God, in her oratory, with sighs, and prayers, she begged his divine grace, and favour, till the sheriff, Andrews, came to acquaint her that she must now appear in the last scene of her devious life. She came out, with state, countenance, and presence, says Camden, majestically composed, with a cheerful look, and a matron-like habit; with her head covered with a veil, which hung down to the ground; with her prayer book, and beads, hanging at her girdle; and carrying a crucifix of ivory in her hands. In the porch, she was received, by the earls, and other noblemen, where Melvill, her servant, falling upon his knees, and pouring forth his tears, bewailed his hard hap, that he was to carry into Scotland the woful tidings of the unhappy fate of his lady, and mistress. She thus comforted him: “Lament not, but rather rejoice; thou shalt, by and by, see Mary Steuart, freed from all her cares. Tell them, that I die constant, in my religion, and firm, in my fidelity, towards Scotland, and France. God forgive them, that have thirsted after my blood, as harts do after the fountain. Thou, oh God, who art truth itself, and perfectly, and truly understandeth the inward thoughts of my heart, knoweth how greatly I have desired, that the kingdoms of

“ Scotland, and England might be united into
 “ one. Commend me to my son ; and assure,
 “ him, that I have done nothing, which may
 “ be prejudicial to his kingdom; admonish him,
 “ to hold in amity with the Queen of England ;
 “ and see thou do him faithful service.”

And now the tears trickling down, she bad Melvill, several times, farewell, who wept, as fast as she. Then, turning to the earls, she prayed them, that her servants might be civilly dealt withal; that they might enjoy the legacies which she had bequeathed them; that they might stand by her, at her death, and might be sent back into their own country, with letters of safe conduct. The former requests they granted: But that they should stand by her at her death, the Earl of Kent showed himself somewhat unwilling, fearing some superstition. “ Fear it not,” said she, “ these harmless souls desire only to take
 “ their last farewell of me. I know, my sister,
 “ Elizabeth, would not have denied me so small
 “ a matter, that my women should be then pre-
 “ sent, were it but for the honour of the female
 “ sex. I am her near kinswoman, descended,
 “ from Henry VII., Queen dowager of France,
 “ and anointed Queen of Scots.”

When she had said thus much, and turned herself aside, it was, at last, granted, that such of her servants, as she should name, should be

present with her. She named Melvill, Burgoin, her physician, her apothecary, her surgeon, two women servants, and others; Melvill bore up her train: So the gentlemen, the two earls; and the sheriff, going before her, she came to the scaffold, which was built at the upper end of the hall; on which was placed a chair, a cushion, and a block, all covered with black cloth. As soon as she was sat down; and silence commanded; Beal read the warrant: She heard it attentively, yet, as if her thoughts were taken up, with somewhat else. Then Fletcher, the Dean of Peterborough, began a long speech to her, concerning the condition of her life past, present, and to come. She interrupted him once, or twice, as he was speaking; and prayed him not to trouble himself; protesting that she was firmly fixed, in the ancient Catholick religion, and for it, was ready to shed her blood. When he earnestly persuaded her, to true repentance, and to put her whole trust in Christ, by an assured faith; she answered, that in that religion, she was born, bred, and was ready to die. The earls said, they would pray for her, to whom she said, that she would give them hearty thanks, if they would pray with her: but, to join, continued she, in prayer, with you, who are of another profession, would be in me, a heinous sin. Then, they appointed

the dean to pray ; with whom, while the multitude, that stood round, were praying, she fell down on her knees, and holding the crucifix before her, in her hands, prayed in Latin, with her servants, out of the *Office of the blessed Virgin Mary.*

After the dean had ceased, she, in English words, recommended the church, her son, and Queen Elizabeth, to God ; beseeching him to turn away his wrath, from this island ; and professing that she reposed her hope of salvation in the blood of Christ ; lifting up the crucifix, she called upon the celestial choir of saints, to make intercession to him, for her ; she forgave all her enemies, and kissing the crucifix, and signing herself, with the cross, she said, “ as thy arms, oh Christ, were spread out
“ upon the cross, so receive me, with the
“ stretched out arms, of thy mercy, and for-
“ give my sins.” Then the executioners asked her forgiveness, which she granted them. And when her women servants had taken off her upper garments, lamenting the while, she kissed them, and signing them, with the cross, bade them, with a cheerful countenance, forbear their womanish lamentations ; For, *now*, said she, *shall I rest from all my sorrows.* In like manner, turning to her men servants, who, also, wept, she signed them, likewise, with the cross ;

and smiling, bade them farewell: And, now, having covered her face, with a linen handkerchief, and laying herself down on the block, she repeated, from the Psalm, In thee, oh Lord, do I trust, let me never be confounded. Then stretching out her body, and repeating many times, Into thy hands, oh Lord, I commend my spirit, her head was stricken off, at two strokes: The dean crying out, *so let Queen Elizabeth's enemies perish*; the Earl of Kent, answering, *Amen*; the multitude, meanwhile, sighing, and sorrowing.^p A circumstance occurred, which added, greatly, to the interest of this affecting scene: When they were about to remove the body of the unfortunate queen, her little dog, which had followed her to the scaffold unobserved, amidst more striking objects, was found under her clothes, which could not be gotten forth, but by force, and afterwards would not depart, from her dead corpse, but went, and laid down, between her head and shoulders, a thing diligently noted.^q While fidelity shall be considered, as a virtue, this remarkable instance of affectionate attachment will be regarded with satisfaction.^r

^p Camden, 385.

^q Beal's narrative.

^r Here is the last letter, which Paulet wrote to Secretary Walsingham, on the 25th of February 1586-7, from the

We have thus beheld how Queen Mary could die: Let us now see how Queen Elizabeth could live. It was a singular trait of Elizabeth's character, that the *life*, or *death*, of the *Scotish Queen*, made her, equally, miserable. As soon as the report of the execution of Mary was brought to her, says Camden, she broke out into indignation, her countenance changed, her speech faltered, and through excessive sorrow,

Paper Office:—Paulet informed Walsingham, that he had brought all the Scottish people, from Chartley, to Fotheringay, and discharged all the soldiers, except four, for the gate. All the jewels, plate, &c. belonging to the late Queen of Scots, were divided, among her servants, previous to Walsingham's letter: None of the servants, or attendants, except Mrs. Kennedy, and Curl's sister, have any thing to prove in writing, that they were given to them, by the late Scottish Queen: for, they all affirm, that they were delivered to them, with her own hands: They have been collected together, and an inventory taken of them, and they are now entrusted to the care of Mr. Melvin, the physician, and Mrs. Kennedy. “The care of embalming the body
“ of the late Queen, was committed to the high sheriff
“ of this county, who, no doubt, was very willing to have it
“ well done; and used therein the advice of a physician
“ dwelling at Stamford, with the help of two surgeons; and
“ upon order given, according to your direction, for the
“ body to be covered with lead, the physician hath thought
“ good, to add somewhat to his former doings, and doth now
“ take upon him, that it may continue, for some reasonable
“ time.”

or dissimulation, she gave herself up to passionate grief; shedding abundance of tears, and putting herself into mourning. Her council, she sharply rebuked; commanding them, out of her sight, and causing them to be examined.* She banished from court, lord Burghley, who took it exceedingly to heart; as if he had not been the principal instrument, in the Scottish Queen's execution: He professed his ignorance of Elizabeth's *private mind*; and when he knew it, confessed his sorrow. He thought the Queen was too severe, for what he had ignorantly, done. He endeavoured to obtain access to his old, and cankered mistress, to show his innocence, and to ask forgiveness; but, without success. He now wrote her several letters, of explanation and apology, with no better success: and he merits some praise, while he justified himself, that he pleaded, strenuously, for Secretary Davison, a man of great talents, as well as integrity.† Some weeks after,

* Camden, 388; Strype, iii. 370.

† Strype, iii. 373, who, mistakingly, says, that Davison sent away the warrant: It was the Privy Council, who sent off the warrant, by Beal, upon the recommendations of Burghley. In the Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. vol. 102. Art. 3, 4, 5, there are Burghley's complaint to the Queen, that having offended her, he was not allowed, to speak for himself, in person to her;—two letters of Burghley to the

Burghley was admitted to his first audience, after this exclusion, from the Queen's presence, when she wanted his advice, concerning the Low Countries. But, being in her presence, says Strype, she fell foul upon him, for the late grudge : whereupon, he went again into great discontent, and absented himself from court.^u Burghley had, by his practices, merited greater punishment ; For, it was he, who fed the rancour of Elizabeth against Mary, for assuming the style, and title of the English crown, when she was *under age*, and *under coverture*, under the direction of Henry II. ; which was less ideal, and offensive, than Elizabeth's claim of being *King* of France, in the face of the fundamental laws : And the minister, who encourages religious zeal, and political fanaticism, must be responsible, for his folly. Very different was the unfortunate case of Secretary Davison, who had acted, as an able, and honest statesman ; yet, was he carried into the star chamber, where he was fined £10,000, imprisoned, and undone.^v

Queen ; for mitigation of her displeasure, on account of the Queen of Scots ;—a complaint, and declaration (still under the Queen's displeasure) not addressed to any person.

^u Strype, 374.

^v Ib. 375 : Camden, 389-93. Davison's *Apology* is one of

Elizabeth, amidst her agitations, either feigned, or real, seems to have forgotten, that the Queen of Scots remained unburied. Her body, indeed, had been embalmed, by the care of Andrews, the sheriff; and placed in a leaden coffin, by order of Walsingham, till the ministers could obtain the final determination of Elizabeth, whether to comply with the late Queen's desire; to be buried with her mother, in France; or where, or how, was to be disposed of a royal personage, who had once been the admiration of Europe. At the end of six months, Mary, the late Queen of Scots, was, at length, interred, with a royal funeral, in the cathedral church of Peterborough, on Tuesday the 1st of August 1587, opposite to the grave of Queen Catherine.^w Shortly after this inter-

the most interesting documents of that age. See it, with notes, in Whitaker's *Vindication*, ii. App. No. xvi.

^w The expense of the funeral, as certified to the Lord Treasurer, was £320. 14. 6 [The account is in the Paper Office.] After the body of the Scottish Queen had rested, in that cathedral, five and twenty years, her son caused it to be translated to Henry VII.'s chapel, in October 1612: And here, he caused a stately monument to be erected to her, where so many royal personages remain. The last ornament of this LIFE of the Scottish Queen, is a print of *her tomb*, which was delineated by Carter, and engraved, by Cooper. King James paid £3500. sterling, as we learn, from Wal-

ment, there was a tablet hung against the wall, above her grave, which contained a lapidary inscription, from the pen of Blackwood, and has been translated into Camden's life of Elizabeth, in such English, as so inflated an inscription allowed. This tablet was not long after removed, by whatever hand; yet her royal ensigns of a helmet, sword, and scutcheon, as they hung high, remained to the year 1646, when they were involved, in the storms of fanaticism, which then fell upon this church, and its monuments.

Meanwhile, the Scottish King was not easy, when he learned, that the guilty axe of Elizabeth hung over his mother's head, by the slender thread of that Queen's duplicity. He was surrounded by Scottish traitors,* and by Eng-

pole's Anecdotes of Painting, for the monuments of Queen Elizabeth, of the Queen of Scots, of the two daughters of the King, Mary, and Sophia. On this splendid tomb, several tables of marble contain the epitaph of the Queen of Scots, which give an account of her royal descent, and kingly relations, the uncommon endowments both of her body, and mind; the troubles of her life; her constancy in religion, and her resolution in death.

* The notorious master of Gray wrote from Dunfermlin, on the 8th of September 1586, to Archibald Douglas, the relation of Morton, and as guilty as he of the King's murder, who was now the Scottish ambassador at London: "For

lish spies, when not yet one and twenty. And he was thus induced to think, that Elizabeth, in deciding the fate of a hated rival, would regard his feelings, more than her own sensations of dread, and hatred.⁷ While the fate of his mother was yet suspended, the ministers of Edinburgh, on his application, refused, to pray for her, according to their usual contempt, in that age, for gospel charity. From this denial, he probably saw, what he had to trust to, if he were to give greater vent to his revenge, than his policy ; and he, certainly, felt his own imbecility, amid such a collision of parties, and prostitution of principles. On the 6th of December, two days after the proclamation of his mother's condemnation, he dispatched a numerous deputation of ambassadors, to endea-

“ this [the Queen's relief] you must deal, very varily, to
“ eschew inconvenience ? seeing the necessity of *all honest*
“ *men's affairs* requires, that she were out of the way.”

Murdin, 568. There remains a letter of Walsingham, 14th of September 1586, to the master of Gray, “ about sounding the King of Scots, concerning the trial of his mother.” Calig. C. ix. 311.

⁷ Coursellis's MS. dispatches. Towards the end of October, the King wrote to “ his ambassador, Douglas, at
“ London ; requiring his decided exertions in behalf of his
“ mother ; as all negotiation would be useless, if her life
“ be taken.” Ib. 432 : Howard's letters, 244.

your to stop the proceedings against the Queen, his mother.*

A month almost elapsed, after the event, before K. James, distinctly, knew, that his mother had died by a stroke of Elizabeth's vengeance, with a resolution worthy of her rank, with an affectionate remembrance of him, and with a just regard to her native kingdom. Elizabeth, meanwhile, wrote him a soothing, but fallacious letter, by Robert Cary, her kinsman; wherein she wished the King of Scots, to understand, that this *lamentable accident* had happened, contrary to her intention. Of Elizabeth's real design, there can be no doubt: We see but too plainly, that her object was to cause the Queen of Scots to be, privately, assassinated, rather than publicly executed, in Davison's narrative, and still more, in the letter of her two secretaries, Walsingham, and Davison, to Paulet and Drury, urging them to perform the guilty deed. The King refused to receive her envoy, which indicated, that he disbelieved her gross simulation, as did her own ministers, and the civilized world. She sent, however, the sentence against Davison, which was only an aggravation of her guilt; and what was of more importance, as it was of more use, she communicated to the

* Lansdowne MSS. v. 103. Art. 28.

King, the opinion of the judges ; affirming that the sentence against his mother would not prejudice his title to the succession, which awaited him. But, above all, a letter, which Walsingham wrote to Maitland, the King's principal minister, containing the wisest suggestions of policy, had the greatest influence, in calming the natural irritation of an irascible people ; other motives had some effect ; Edinburgh, and the southern shires of Scotland, swarmed with English spies, and emissaries, while Lord Scroope drew together a body of troops on the south western border. On the other hand, Henry III. reprobated the cruelty of Elizabeth towards the Scottish Queen ; commended the King's affectionate efforts, in favour of his mother : and urged the King, with assurances of support, to avenge the odious conduct of the one queen, and the hard fate of the other.*

* Calig. D. 1. One of Walsingham's spies wrote to him, from Edinburgh, on the 3d of March 1586-7, " that he had
" just seen the master of Gray, who is utterly estranged
" from England ; the reason is, that the Earl of Leicester
" had delivered Gray's letters to Sir Alexander Stuart, to be
" shewn to the king, to ruin him ; that Elizabeth herself had
" sent such like messages to the king against Gray : He there-
" fore desired Secretary Walsingham to get letters written
" to the King, and to Archibald Douglas, exculpating Gray,
" who was too bad to be defended, though perfidy is equally

There continued, for some time, a considerable fermentation, at Edinburgh, owing to those causes, as well as to the natural feelings of the people. Even so judicious a character, as the lord justice clerk, gave it as his opinion, that the King, and the whole nation, were touched, in their honours, which they ought to vindicate, let the consequences be what they would, unless satisfaction came first from England. In the Scottish Parliament of July 1587, some sharp speeches were made to the king concerning the death of the queen, his mother.^b These

“ indefensible :” Pasquils were set up against the king, and the lords of his council ; provoking him to revenge his mother's death.

^b The following letter, from Robert Carvyle, an English spy, to Secretary Walsingham, is the best proof of what is stated, in the text.

“ Right Hon. my duty remembered : These are to satisfie
 “ your honour, that I have bene, in Scotland, ever synce the
 “ last of February : And colde get no dispatche, until Mon-
 “ day the sixt of this instant, at nyne of the clock in the
 “ morninge : And then I receyved (at the hands of the secre-
 “ tary, whoe ruleth the courte) a letter to Mr. Carie, from
 “ him, by warrante, from the King's matie, which was to
 “ this effect ; that he should wryte, that the King wolde re-
 “ ceyve no embassadour, as yet, partly by reason of his hea-
 “ viness, and sorrowinge, for his mother ; and also, for
 “ that he is not resolved, that the Queen's matie is so sory,
 “ for his mother's death, as he was informed she was ; and

speeches touched the feelings of the privy counsellors of England, who complained, through the Scots ambassador to the King, who gave them a satisfactory explanation, as to himself, though they remained dissatisfied with the chancellor, and the lords. Maitland, the chancellor, the brother of the late secretary, who was, certainly, the ablest, and honestest states-

“ further, because he cannot stave the rigor of his people,
“ being wickedly bent, and evil given, as I both hard, and
“ sawe, with myne eyes; for there is dayly libells set up in
“ open strete, and cast into the pulpit, both against the
“ Kinge himself, the Mr. of Gray, Mr. Archibald Douglas,
“ and the preachers; and amongst the rest, the 4th of this
“ instant, there were two sett up at my lodginge, very odious,
“ and detestable ageynst the Quene’s matie, the copie whereof,
“ I have sent you herein closed; which two, I toke off, and
“ the one, I gave to the secretary, to shewe the Kinge; the
“ other MS. Robert Carie hath to send to my L. Chamber-
“ lyne: And truly, for all this sturr, I fynde, that the secre-
“ tary is very well inclined towards her matie, and a favorer
“ towards the mayntenance of peace and amitie, and the
“ Kinge himself also. But, touchinge the sending awaye of
“ embassadours into other countries, they are not yet fully
“ agreed; and touchinge the Mr. of Gray, and his doings,
“ your honour shall have more in Roger Ashton, his pacquet.
“ And so until my next, I humbly take leave, &c. Barwick,
“ in hast, the vi of March 1586. Your honours to my power,
“ Robart Carvyle.

“ Postscript. Curcellis man stands fast, and firme, and is
“ ready to be employed, when I shall hear from your ho-
“ nour. It were good, that the secretary were used, for he

man, in Scotland, probably acted a subtle part : He was too wise a person, to allow his passion to over-rule his policy : And his real object, probably, was, to obtain from Elizabeth's government, a considerable subsidy, for the King, who, however, but very ill supported his minister's intentions.^c

“ is very gret. — Your honor shall receyve a pacquet, from
“ Roger Aston.” [Cotton lib. Calig. C. ix. fo. 71.]

“ *Fruere pro funere fune.*”

“ To Jesabell that English heure
Receyve this Scottishe cheyne
As presages of her gret malheur
For murthering of oure Quene.”

“ The cheyne was a little corde of hemp tied halter-wise.”

This note of explanation is in the hand writing of Robert Carvyle, and added at the bottom of the verses, which are in a different hand writing, and seem to be one of the original libels, fixed on his lodgings, at Edinburgh.

^c There remains a long, and able letter from the chancellor Maitland ; in which he insisted, that the King's right of succession should be legally acknowledged, and a proper subsidy settled on him ; as adequate compensations, for the queen's death. In Calig. B. viii., may be seen an original letter, from Roger Aston, a spy of Walsingham, dated at Holyrood-house, the last of July 1587 : He informed Walsingham, “ that the king had returned to Edinburgh, to conclude the present Parliament, which was dissolved, on
“ Saturday the 29th of July. Matters did not look well towards England. The secretary appears to have altered his
“ course ; and had promoted the Earl of Huntley, and others,

King James, who was now upwards of one and twenty, liked amusement better than business. And though he felt sharply the death of his mother, when brought simply under his consideration; yet, a very little reflection made him feel his weakness.^d He seems to have

“ not devoted to England. Among some, who were deter-
“ mined, to abide all storms, for the English interest, was
“ Mr. Keith, late ambassador to London. The secretary
“ who had chief influence, and ruled all, had taken a great
“ hatred against Mr. Archibald Douglas [one of the mur-
“ derers of the king's father, and the betrayer of his mother]
“ and would not suffer any course to go forward, in which
“ Douglas was a dealer. Every pains was taken to keep
“ alive the memory of the queen's death, and no opportunity
“ was lost in keeping the same constantly in mind. Not-
“ withstanding this,” continues Aston, “ he knew, that *the*
“ *King's own mind was, to live quietly, and not to have any*
“ *trouble, either in his own country, or in any other.*”

^d Carvyle intimated to Walsingham, “ that her majesty
“ need not fear any war; as Scotland had not the means, to
“ carry on war, and the people were much divided; that on
“ the last day of the Parliament, the secretary, who was made
“ chancellor, after the conclusion of all matters, stood up,
“ and made a long oration, in the name of the three Estates;
“ offering their lives, lands, and goods, for revenging the
“ king's mother's murder, which speech was well received,
“ by the general voice of the whole house. Notwithstand-
“ ing all this, to morrow, the king, and court, take a jour-
“ ney to *the buck hunting*; and he had as much mind of
“ that, as of any war.”

drawn up, with his own hand, a paper of reasons why “ he was unable to revenge the heinous murder, committed against his dearest mother, by the old enemies of my progenitors, realme, and nation : First, in respect of my tender youth, not trained up, in dexterity of arms, either to withstand injury, or to conquer my own right ; being at all times bygone *detained in captivity* : Next, my excessive want, being obliged to live, from hand to hand ; having sufficient patrimony, and casualty, without any thing in store. Then, the divers factions of spiritual, and temporal estates ; every one regarding himself, and not me.”^c The King’s reasons are quite satisfactory ; but, another reason, which, arising from natural temperament, pressed still more forcibly upon him, through life ; like his mother, and perhaps his whole family, *he could not act*, however well informed. In the subsequent year, Elizabeth sent the aged Walsingham to Edinburgh ; in order to discover, and report to her, what kind of prince King James, really, was : On every topick, which Walsingham could touch upon, the King, who had much knowledge, and an excellent memory, talked so

^c The King’s REASONS, which are somewhat imperfect, from transcription, are in the Cotton Library, Julius, F. fo. 70.

plausibly, that he imposed upon that experienced statesman. King James lived to have as great an ascendancy, in the court of Elizabeth, as she had long practised, in Scotland; and to influence her principal minister, who deluded his aged mistress, for the interest, and quiet of both. He acceded, as quietly, to the throne of England, as if his succession had been settled, by Act of Parliament.

*** At the *eve* of the Scottish Queen's *trial*, for *her life*, we have seen Lord Burghley circulate^e what he called,

A NOTE of the *indignities*, and *wrongs*, *done*, and *offered*, by the Queen of Scots to the Queen's majesty:^f

The time, the place, the circumstances of this artifice, with the obvious design of influencing the commissioners, who were to decide on the Queen of Scots's guilt, or innocence, all demand an adequate answer to Burghley's insidious publication.

His First Charge.

The Queen of Scots' challenge of the crown of England, by her using of the arms, and style of England; and being admonished thereof, answers were made very frivolously.

The Answer thereto.

The Scottish Queen, on the 26th of July 1561, when

^e See before, p. 171.

^f It was circulated, on the 12th of October 1586, in Burghley's hand; and was published, by Murrin, 584.

applied to, formally, by 'Throkmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador, on this subject, said: I was then under the commandment of King Henry, my father, and of the king, my lord, and husband; and whatsoever was then done, by their commandments, the same was, in like manner continued till both their deaths; since which time, you know, I neither bore the arms, nor used the titles of England: Methinks, these my doings, continued she, might ascertain the Queen, your mistress, that what was done *before*, was done, by the commandment of them, who had power over me; and also she ought to be satisfied, seeing I order my doings, as I tell you. To this exposition of the Scottish Queen, there was no answer made, by Throkmorton, then; nor could any be made, by any one, thereafter: She was under age, and under coverture, and she, and her husband, were under the power of Henry II, her father in law; and she was bound to obey both her father, and her husband; but since their several deaths, she had discontinued the practice, which had given offence: and now being a widow, she did not *trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects*, [as Elizabeth then did, with Scotland, and Mary's subjects.] She only asked her friendship. This is the answer, which Burghley declared to be *frivolous*; and which he could not confute; yet, was always ready to bring forward, as matter of charge. If he meant, to make a sovereign of equal dignity, with his own, personally, answerable for what she did, as a sovereign, Burghley only showed his malignity, contrary to the common practice of mankind, to common justice, and to the common law of nations. If he avowed such a principle of action; then did he denude his mistress of her rank, and pretensions of one of the sovereigns of civilized

nations, and degrade her to the state of one of the Barbary powers, who were despised, for their ignorance, and contemned, for their practices. What apology did Elizabeth expect, from a queen of full as much dignity, as herself, more than a disavowal of the offensive pretension, and an avowed discontinuance, in future, of the injurious practice? Between sovereigns of equal rank what was then done, by the Queen of Scots, was constantly deemed a sufficient satisfaction, for such an injury, which, in her, as a married woman, was no injury at all. Henry II. was answerable for whatever wrong was committed: But, he had a retort ready, for Elizabeth: Upon what principle do you pretend, contrary to the fundamental laws of my ancient realm, which do not admit a female king, to govern, whatever he—she, in his—her conceipt, might claim. [The above facts we learn, from Throckmorton's letter to Elizabeth, 26th July 1561.]

His Second Charge.

Great forces were continued, in Scotland, after peace made, for England, by the Queen's majesty, and the French King, and his wife, for Scotland.

The Answer thereto.

The peace alluded to above was probably the peace of Cambray, in April 1559, or perhaps the treaty of Upsettlington, on the 31st of May thereafter: But, there is nothing in either, about sending, or keeping troops, in Scotland. Burghley knew full well, that a rebellion existed, in Scotland, from 1558 till 1560, inclusive, which he, and his mistress, fomented; and thus did their own act make troops necessary. As Scotland, and France, were amalgamated, by the marriage of the Scottish Queen with the Dauphin, the French King had a right to send

troops to Scotland against the rebels, whom Elizabeth fostered ; and she had neither any just right, nor any adequate pretence, for opposing what was done, rightfully, by Mary, and her husband. But, without any right, Elizabeth entered into a formal treaty, at Berwick, in February 1559-60, with Mary's rebellious subjects, for giving them assistance, by sea, and land. It was in pursuance of this illegitimate treaty, that Elizabeth sent forces, under Lord Gray, in aid of the Scottish insurgents. In all this, the French King, and Queen, were right ; and Elizabeth was quite wrong. The troops on both sides remained, in Scotland, till the treaty of Edinburgh, July 1560, under which both were bound to retire, except a few French troops, which, by the treaty, were allowed to remain, in Dunbar, and Inch-Keith. And Mary told the English ambassador, on the 11th of August 1561, " the French garrisons are remanded from " Scotland ; the fort of Aymouth is razed to the ground." What then, was said, by Burghley, on this head, was only a tissue of misrepresentation, and impertinence.

His Third Charge.

By the treaty of Edinburgh, it was covenanted, that the King, and Queen of France, and Scotland, should forbear to use, the style, and titles of England.

The Answer thereto.

'The French negotiators, formally, declared, that they had no authority, or any power, to treat of the titles of either party to the crown of England : And having no power to treat, it was informal, and unfit, in the English negotiators, Cecil, and Wotton, to enter into such a question. Why are the powers called for, and produced, at the opening of every treaty, but to understand dis-

tinctly, what powers the several negotiators are invested with: But, having at the treaty of Edinburgh, contrary to every rule of diplomacy, entered into negotiation with persons unauthorized, Cecil and Wotton, inserted a clause, obliging the Queen of Scots never, *at any time*, to claim the crown of England, though she was presumptive heir thereof: This, then, is of a quite different import, from a stipulation that she would cease to use the style, and titles of England; and she had already ceased to use such titles: For what was done, by the French government, during the life of Francis II. she was not answerable: But, when she became a widow, she had a right either to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, or to reject it: She did reject it, for two reasons: (1) Her ambassadors had no power to treat, about her title: (2) The clause, which was inserted, without authority, was injuriously, worded, in as far as, it denuded her of her claim to the crown of England, at any time, instead of stipulating, that she would not, in future, use titles, which she had already discontinued; and did not mean to claim, during Elizabeth's life. Burghley only showed his propensity to misrepresent; and his talent for sophistry, in the place of candour, and truth: The Scottish Queen was, therefore, right, and the English minister was, totally, wrong. He now alluded to the claim made, on Elizabeth, personally, by Secretary Maitland, after the Queen's arrival in Scotland, of a declaration, by Parliament, of her presumptive title to the crown, after the failure of Elizabeth and her heirs. But, was such a claim any injury, or wrong? No: This claim was made by her secretary, without her authority, or instruction, and it was supposed to be done, in concert with Cecil, to vex Elizabeth, and to injure Mary. The declamation of

Burghley, about the great power of the Guises, in France, was nothing to the purpose ; as it contained not any matter of charge against the Scottish Queen : It answered his purpose, however, at that critical moment, by inciting popular indignation, to delude the ignorant, and to injure the innocent ; and, at the same time, to avow his guilty passions, of hatred, and malignity, towards the Scottish Queen.

Such, then, were the *indignities*, and *wrongs*, which were *done*, and *offered*, by the Scottish Queen, to the Queen's majesty, in the corrupt opinion of Lord Burghley, which was sufficiently frivolous, and malignant. But, the following extracts of letters from the English ambassador, 'Throkmorton, in July, and August 1561 ; communicating his discussions with the Scottish Queen, concerning the treaty of Edinburgh, will not only show, that Burghley, was unfounded in his facts ; but, will illustrate the talents of the Queen of Scots, for business, at the age of eighteen.

Throkmorton's Letter to Elizabeth, from Paris, 21st July 1561.

It may please your majesty to understand : Having intelligence that Monsieur d'Oysell had advertised the Queen of Scotland, by Rollet her secretary, the 17th of this present, what answer your majesty had made him ; and hearing also of the sundry praises, and discourses, made here, of that your majesty answered, I sent to Dampier (a house of the Cardinal of Lorrain's) the 19th of this month, to the Queen of Scotland, to require audience of her, which she appointed me to have the next day, in the afternoon, at St. German's.

The 20th of this present, in the afternoon, I had access to the said Queen of Scotland, with whom I found Monsieur d'Oysell, talking when I entered into her chamber; she dismissed Monsieur d'Oysell, and rose from her chair, when she saw me; unto whom I said, Madam, whereas you sent lately Monsieur d'Oysell to the Queen, my mistress, to demand her majesty's safe conduct, for your free passage, by sea, into your own realm, and to be accommodated with such favors, as upon events, you might have need of upon the coast of England, and also did farther require the free passage of the said Monsieur d'Oysell, into Scotland, through England: the Queen my mistress hath not thought good to suffer the said Monsieur d'Oysell to pass into Scotland, nor to satisfy your desire, for your passage home, neither for such other favours, as you required to be accommodated withall, at her majesty's hand; inasmuch as you have not accomplished the ratification of the treaty, accorded by your deputies, in July, now twelve months ago, at Edinburgh, which in honour you are bound many ways to perform; for besides, that you stand bound by your hand and seal, whereby your commissioners were authorised, it may please you, madam, to remember that many promises have been made, for the performance thereof, as well in the king your husband's time, as by yourself, since his death, and yet notwithstanding the treaty remaineth unratified, as before, a whole year being expired since the accord thereof, which, by your commissioners, was agreed, to have been ratified within sixty days: So as upon this unamicable, and indirect dealing, the Queen my mistress hath refused you these favours, and pleasures, by you required, and hath grounded this her majesty's strangeness unto you, upon your own behaviour, which her

majesty doth uncomfortably, both for that your majesty is, as she is, a Queen, her next neighbour, and next kinswoman ; nevertheless, her majesty hath commanded me to say unto you, madam, (quoth I) that if you can like to be better advised, and to ratify the treaty, as you in honour are bound to do, her majesty will not only give you, and your's, free passage, but also will be most glad to see you pass through her realm, that you may be accommodated with the pleasure thereof, and such friendly conference may be had betwixt you, as all unkindness may be quenched, and an assured perfect amity betwixt you both for ever established. Having said thus much unto her, the said Queen sat down, and made me sit also by her ; she then commanded all the audience to retire them further off, and said, Monsieur l'ambassadeur, I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported ; but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions, as the Queen your mistress was content to have, when she talked with Monsieur d'Oysell : There is nothing that doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the Queen your mistress that favour, which I had no need to ask ; I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey, than she doth me of hers ; I may pass well enough home into my own realm, I think, without her passport, or licence ; for though the late King your master (said she) used all the impeachment he could both to stay me, and to catch me, when I came hither, yet you know, Monsieur l'ambassadeur, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means, to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends : Truly (said she) I was so far from evil meaning to the Queen your mistress, that, at this time, I was more wil-

ling to employ her amity to stand me in stead, than all the friends I have; and yet you know, both in this realm, and elsewhere, I have both friends, and allies, and such as would be glad, and willing to employ both their forces, and aid, to stand me in stead; you have Monsieur l'ambassadour (quoth she) oftentimes told me, that the amity, between the Queen your mistress and me, was very necessary, and profitable for us both; I have some reason (quoth she) now to think, that the Queen your mistress is not of that mind; for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly; it seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than she doth of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman and her next neighbour; and trow you (quoth she) that there can be so good meaning between my subjects and her, which have forgotten their principal duty to me, their sovereign, as there should be betwixt her and me? I perceive that the Queen your mistress doth think, that because my subjects have done me wrong, my friends, and allies, will forsake me also: Indeed your mistress doth give me cause to seek friendship, where I did not mind to ask it; but Monsieur l'ambassadour, let the Queen your mistress think, that it will be thought very strange amongst all princes, and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now being a widow, to impeach my going into my own country: I ask her nothing but friendship; I do not trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects; and yet I know there be in her realm that be inclined enough to hear offers, I know also they be not of the mind she is of, neither in religion, nor other things. The Queen your mistress doth say, that I am

young, and do lack experience ; indeed (quoth she) I confess I am younger than she is, and do want experience : But, I have age enough, and experience, to use myself towards my friends, and kinsfolks, friendly and uprightly ; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me, that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than it becometh of a Queen, and my next kinswoman. Well, Monsieur l'ambassadeur, I could tell you, that I am as she is, a Queen allied, and friended, as is known ; and I tell you, also, that my heart is not inferior to hers, so as an equal respect would be had betwixt us on both parts ; but I will not contend in comparisons : first, you know (quoth she) that the accord was made in the late King my lord and husband's time ; by whom, as reason was, I was commanded and governed ; and for such delays as were then, in his time, used in the said ratification, I am not to be charged : Since his death, my interest failing in the realm of France, I left to be advised by the council of France, and they left mine also to my own council ; indeed (quoth she) my uncles being, as you know, busy in the affairs of this realm, do not think meet to advise me in my affairs ; neither do my subjects nor the Queen your mistress, think meet, that I should be advised by them, but rather by the council of my own realm ; here are none of them, nor none such, as is thought meet, that I should be counselled by ; the matter is great, it toucheth both them and me, and in so great a matter, it were meet to use the advice of the wisest of them ; I do not think it meet, in so great a matter, to take the counsel of private and unexpert persons, and such as the Queen your mistress knoweth be not most acceptable to such of my subjects as she would have me be advised by : I have (quoth she) oftentimes told

you, that as soon as I had their advices, I would send the Queen your mistress such an answer as should be reasonable ; I am about to haste me home as fast as I may, to the intent the matter might be answered ; and now the Queen your mistress will in no wise suffer neither me to pass home, nor him that I sent into my realm ; so as, Monsieur l'ambassadour, (quoth she) it seemeth the Queen your mistress will be the cause, why in this matter she is not satisfied, or else she will not be satisfied ; but liketh to make this matter a quarrel still betwixt us, whereof, she is the author : The Queen, your mistress, saith, that I am young ; she might as well say, that I were as foolish as young, if I would, in the state and country that I am in, proceed to such a matter of myself, without any counsel ; for that, which was done by the King, my late lord and husband, must not be taken to be my act ; so as neither in honour, nor in conscience, am I bound, as you say I am, to perform all that I was by my lord and husband commanded to do ; and yet (quoth she) I will say truly unto you, and as God favours me, I did never mean otherwise unto her than becometh me to my good sister and cousin, nor meant her no more harm than to myself ; God forgive them, which have otherwise persuaded her, if there be any such. What is the matter, pray you, Monsieur l'ambassadour (quoth she) that doth so offend the Queen your mistress, to make her thus evil affected to me ? I never did her wrong, neither in deed, nor speech ; it should the less grieve me, if I had deserved otherwise than well ; and though the world may be of divers judgments of us, and our doings, one to another, I do well know, God, that is in heaven, can and will be a true judge, both of our doings and meanings. I answered, Madam, I have declared unto

you my charge commanded by the Queen my mistress, and have no more to say to you on her behalf, but to know your answer, for the ratification of the treaty.

The Queen answered, I have aforetime shewed you, and do now tell you again, that it is not meet, for to proceed in this matter, without the advice of the nobles and states of mine own realm, which I can by no means have until I come amongst them. You know, (quoth she) as well as I, there is none come hither, since the death of the King, my late husband, and lord, but such as are either, come for their private business, or such as dare not tarry, in Scotland. But, I pray you, Monsieur l'ambassadour (quoth she) tell me, how riseth this strange affection in the Queen your mistress towards me? I desire to know it, to the intent I may reform myself, if I have failed. I answered, Madam, I have by the commandment of the Queen, my mistress, declared unto you the cause of her discontentation already: But seeing you so desirous to hear, how you may be charged with any deserving, as one that speaketh of mine own mind, without instruction, I will be so bold, Madam, by way of discourse, to tell you: As soon as the Queen my mistress, after the death of her sister, came to the crown of England, you bore the arms of England, diversely quartered with your own, and used in your country notoriously, the stile, and title of the Queen my mistress, which was never by you put in use in Queen Mary's time: And if any thing can be more prejudicial to a prince, than to usurp the title, and interest belonging to them, Madam, I do refer it to your own judgment. You see, such as be noted usurpers of other folks estates, cannot patiently be borne withal, for such doings; much more the Queen my mistress hath cause

to be grieved (considering her undoubted and lawful interest) with the offer of such injury. Monsieur l'ambassadeur, said she, I was then under the commandment of King Henry my father, and of the King my lord, and husband; and whatsoever was done then, by their order, and commandments, the same was, in like manner, continued until both their deaths, since which time, you know, I neither have bore the arms, nor used the title of England. Methinks (quoth she) these my doings might ascertain the Queen your mistress, that that which was done before, was done by commandment of them, that had the power over me; and also in reason she ought to be satisfied, seeing I order my doings as I tell you. It were no great dishonour to the Queen my cousin, your mistress, though I, a Queen also, did bear the arms of England; for I am sure, some, inferiour to me, and that be not on every side so well apparented as I am, do bear the arms of England. You cannot deny (quoth she) but that my grandmother was the King her father's sister, and (I trow) the eldest sister he had. I do assure you, Monsieur l'ambassadeur, and do speak unto you, truly, as I think, I never meant, nor thought matter against the Queen my cousin. Indeed (quoth she) I know what I am, and would be loth either to do others wrong, or suffer too much wrong to myself: And now that I have told you my mind, plainly, I pray behave yourself, betwixt us, like a good minister, whose part is to make things betwixt princes rather better than worse. And so I took my leave of the said Queen, for that time. Paris, 21st July 1561. [The original is in the Cotton library, Calig. E. v. 87; Cabala, 345.]

226 THE LIFE OF [SECT. XIX. *From Mary's Removal to Throkmorton's Letter to Elizabeth, from Abbeville, 11th Aug. 1561.*

When the Queen of Scots had set forward, towards the sea coast, in order to embark for her own kingdom, she sent to Throkmorton, the English ambassador, desiring him to meet her at Abbeville. Here, they met, on the 11th of August 1561, where she again talked to him, concerning the methods, whereby she might satisfy his mistress, as to the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. Throkmorton wrote an account of this conference, on the same day, in a letter remaining in the Cotton library.^b He says, that the Queen of Scots having asked him, by what methods she might satisfy his mistress? By confirming the treaty, answered he, as I have more than once told your majesty. To which she replied, I desire you to hear me, and then judge, whether my reasons be not very cogent, which your Queen takes, for vain excuses, and delays. The 1st Art. in that treaty, for confirming the truce, at Cambray, does not in the least concern me: The 2d, which relates to the signing the treaty there made, between the English and Scots, was ratified by my husband and myself; and requires not any additional ratification: the 3d, 4th, and 5th Art. are already answered, and fulfilled; *for there are no further warlike preparations; the French garrisons are remanded, from Scotland; the fort at Aymouth, is razed to the ground; I have, since my husband's death, quitted the arms, and title of England; to raze, and strike them*

^b The original is in Calig. E. v. 94, which is very much injured by the fire: But, it was abstracted by Camden before that misfortune.

*out of all the moveables, buildings, and charters of France are things no ways in my power ; and it is more than I can do, to send back the Bishop of Valance, and Randan, who are no subjects of mine, into England, to confer about the 6th Article. As for the last article, I hope my rebel subjects will not complain of any great severity towards them : But, your mistress, I perceive, designs to prevent any proofs, I might show towards them, by resolving to hinder my return. What is there now behind, in this treaty, that can any way prejudice the affairs of your mistress ? Nevertheless, to give her the fullest satisfaction, I design to write her about these matters, with my own hand, though she would not vouchsafe me an answer, but by her secretary. But, I would advise you, who are an ambassador, to act suitable to that character ; I mean, rather to qualify, and compose matters, than to aggravate, and make them worse. Abbeville, 11th August 1561. The Queen of Scots, from delicacy, declined to say, bluntly, that the 6th article, in respect to title, was *in itself void*, for *want of authority*, in the French envoys, who avowed their want of power ; 2dly, it was void ; because the English negotiators worded the clause, so as to make the Queen of Scots, *to renounce, for ever, any claim, to the English crown ;* when it ought to have been, during *the life of the Queen of England, and her lawful issue*. Elizabeth, by catching eagerly at this clause, though void in itself, and persevering so long, in soliciting a ratification of this treaty, which was already executed, showed, sufficiently how much she wished to profit, from *the knavery of her ministers*. And, because the Scottish Queen, at the age of *eighteen*, had acuteness, to discover that *fraudulence*, and*

resolution, to avoid *the cheat*, Elizabeth hated her, through life; as she had wronged her.

As it is now, sufficiently, apparent, that Burghley's insidious charges were groundless; we may at length enquire what were the *indignities*, and wrongs, *done*, and *offered*, by Elizabeth, and Cecil, to the Scottish Queen.

The year 1558 is the remarkable epoch of the marriage of the Scottish Queen to the Dauphin, and of Elizabeth's accession to the crown of England: by the first event, Scotland was identified with France, by the second, England was induced, by the policy, or the prejudice of Cecil, to enter into the most criminal intrigues, both in Scotland, and in France, for the purpose of disquieting, and injuring Francis, and Mary: "If the Queen, and "Dauphin," said Cecil, in August 1559, while an insurrection existed, in Scotland, "will not grant certain "points; then, may the estates commit the government "there to the next heir of the crown: If the Queen of "Scots will not comply; then is it clear," said he, to the Scottish insurgents, "that God Almighty is pleased, to "transfer, from her, the rule of the kingdom, for the "weal of it." All this was written, by the minister of a foreign power, who had no right to interpose, contrary to treaties, and to the late settlement of the estates of Scotland. *Jacobinism* could not go beyond the guilty reasoning, and seditious conduct of Cecil! Elizabeth, within the same year, entered into a formal treaty, with the heir presumptive of the crown, who was thus incited, to assume the government, in disherision of the sovereign, and in contempt of the law, however contrary to his duty.

[Haynes, 253.] What were the charges against Mary, when compared with the conduct of Elizabeth, in raising up a pretender to the crown of Scotland, in opposition to the Scottish Queen, who was, by law, and right, the legitimate sovereign. Elizabeth thus incited, and established a government, in Scotland; quite independent of the Queen thereof; appointed a formal agent, to reside at the pretender's court: sent men, and money, and ships, to support the insurgents, in opposition to the legitimate government, and in contempt of the estates, who had, unanimously, agreed to the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin, and had, thereby, amalgamated Scotland and France? This may have been an *inconvenience* to England, but, it was *not an injury*.

When it was perceived, that the presumptive heir was not sufficiently warm, in his own cause, Cecil incited Murray, the Queen's bastard brother, to aim at the crown. From this epoch, Murray was protected, by Cecil, till the bastard pretender assumed the regency of the kingdom, and obliged Mary, to seek refuge in England. But, was such conduct in Burghley right, or was it necessary?

We are now brought back again to the treaty of Edinburgh, which Cecil, and Wotton, negotiated, at that city, in July 1560. Though the French negotiators asserted, truly, that they had no authority to negotiate about Mary's claim to the crown of England, and she did not claim it, till after Elizabeth's demise, without legitimate issue; yet, did Cecil insert a clause in it, which obliged Mary, to bind herself *never to claim the crown of England*: Thus did Cecil, commit two wrongs which were injurious to the Scottish Queen: (1) He negotiated on this important point, with two envoys, who asserted, in

the very treaty itself, that they had no power to treat, with regard to the Scottish Queen's title to the crown of England, a conduct this, that is contrary to every principle of diplomacy ; (2) Cecil worded his clause, in such a manner, that the Scottish Queen thereby bound herself never to claim the crown of England, instead of an obligation, not to form any pretension to the English crown, during Elizabeth's life. Owing to these two clauses, the Scottish Queen, like every other sovereign, having a right to confirm, or reject, an improper treaty, refused her confirmation : And, Cecil, instead of blushing, for his own knavery, formed her refusal into a charge against the Queen of Scots ; because she exercised her right of adopting, or refusing, a perfidious treaty, which her negotiators had no power to concert.

But, this attempt of Cecil, to swindle the Scottish Queen out of her right of succession to the English crown, after the demise of the existing sovereign, was nothing, when compared with the fraud of imposing a spurious treaty on the Queen, and people of Scotland. The envoys of Francis and Mary, informed Elizabeth, that they had no power to make any treaty, with the Scottish insurgents, though their sovereigns were willing to grant them pardon, and indemnity. This might, easily, have been done, and ought to have been done, by a clause, in the English treaty, which would have given Elizabeth the power of warranty, and the right of reclamation : Instead of doing this business, as the genuine rules of true diplomacy required, Cecil countenanced a formal treaty, with the Scottish insurgents, which the French envoys avowed to Elizabeth, they had no power to make ; and by which, however, they were made, by matchless knavery, to relinquish, in favour of the insur-

gent faction, their Queen's rights, as Scottish sovereign.ⁱ The Queen of Scots was never asked to ratify *this imposture*: But, the insurgents, immediately acted upon it, and Elizabeth and Cecil acted with them, as if the insurgents had been an independent state: Indeed, Cecil, in his above mentioned charges against the Scottish Queen, calls *those insurgents* the *Scottish nation*; but, without compunction, or a blush.

When the widowed Queen was to return, from France, to Scotland, Elizabeth, in concert with the same insurgents, sent out a fleet to arrest her progress; but, the Queen's galleys escaped; though some of her transports were carried into the English ports, where they were, for some time, detained. If it were asked upon what principles Elizabeth acted thus? The answer must be, upon the principles, and practice, of the Barbary powers. The refusal of the Scottish Queen to be the dupe of Cecil's artifices, could not justify so strong a measure, as a hostile act. It was an aggravation of that Algerine measure, when Elizabeth, and Cecil, gravely, denied the fact of sending out a fleet, for such a purpose.^k

But, duplicity, artifice, and trick, were the daily practices of Elizabeth's government. She allowed Lord Darnley to visit Scotland; giving him letters of good

ⁱ There is one copy of this supposititious treaty, in the Paper Office, and another copy, in the Cotton library. But, no one, ever saw the original, which is no where deposited.

^k The Lord keeper Bacon, who knew the fact of sending out a fleet, for such a purpose, mentioned the fact in the cabinet council. This appears in a MS. collection of Bacon's speeches, in my library, and otherwise.

offices to the Scottish Queen. When Elizabeth clearly saw, that Mary would marry Darnley, Elizabeth denied, that she had ever allowed him to go into Scotland, and recalled him. When she could not prevent this marriage, by any means, but force, she incited her agent, Murray, to raise a rebellion against the Scottish Queen: Yet, were Murray, and his rebellious associates, driven into England, for refuge: And Murray, coming into her court, where were present the foreign ambassadors, she made him deny, that she had, in any manner, incited him to rebel; and she now drove him, from her presence, as a perjured traitor. Against this perfidy, Murray remonstrated, by letters, in vain: She protected him, however, in her kingdom, and supplied him with money, till the assassination of Rizzio enabled him, to return in triumph.

Of that assassination, Elizabeth, and Cecil, were previously informed, by Bedford, and Randolph: Elizabeth and Cecil, according to their practice, protected Morton, and Ruthven, and the other assassins, till the Queen's majesty, and minister, obtained their pardons, from the facility of Mary. It is apparent, then, that Elizabeth, and Cecil, were accessaries to that assassination, aggravated, as it was, both *before*, and *after*, the fact.

Of the plot, which was formed, when the Queen retired into Edinburgh castle, to wait the time of her *accouchement*, for transferring the sceptre, from the legitimate heir to a bastard pretender, Elizabeth, and Cecil were parties; however immoral *the act*, or odious, *the means*.

Elizabeth, and Cecil, knew not, indeed, the detail of

the assassination of Darnley ; they only enabled Morton, the assassin of Rizzio, by soliciting his pardon, to act, as one of the king's principal murderers.

But, Elizabeth and Cecil, were fully informed of the subsequent act of the conspiracy, which had, for its end, the dethronement of the Queen, and the coronation of her son. Cecil acted, as the agent of the conspirators, by carrying on their correspondence, with Murray ; by supplying him with credit, when he was to retire, from France ; and by finding him the means of transport. The revolution, which was thus accomplished, by dethroning the Queen, by crowning her son, and by placing Murray, in the vice-regal chair, was plainly effected, by Elizabeth's government, however injurious to Mary, however immoral were the ends, and disgraceful the means.

When the Queen escaped from Lochleven castle, and tried her fortune in the field, Elizabeth's government took a strong part against the unfortunate fugitive : And Cecil, with his usual perfidy, endeavoured to persuade Beaton, the officer, whom Mary sent to ask for aid, from England, and France, that he ought not to proceed to Paris ; as she could have help enough, from London.

The Scottish Queen, whatever were the incitements, which she may have had, from Elizabeth, made but a very unfortunate choice, when she relied, for safety, and assistance, on her cousin, Elizabeth, rather than the queen mother of France. She was immediately consigned to prison, whence, she was not delivered, but to the scaffold, and the grave.

It was the deliberate judgment of Knollys, the warden of the Scottish Queen, that, all things considered, it was not easy to perceive, how the Queen's majesty could

with honour, and safety, detain the Queen of Scots, *unless she should be utterly disgraced to the world.* In this opinion, concurred Mildmay, and Leicester, with other counsellors of Elizabeth. And, on that judgment, Cecil, generally, acted. They did calumniate the Queen of Scots, in every way possible: But, all calumny is immoral, irreligious, and unlawful. In pursuance of that opinion, Cecil produced a dissertation, to prove, that the Queen of Scots ought to be detained a prisoner: But, when this document was examined, it was found, to be a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation, of sophisms and inanity. Such papers, Cecil delighted to write, knowing that he was not to be controverted: Hence, his laxity of facts, and futility of reasoning.

It was the complaints of the Scottish Queen against Murray, and his partizans, for depriving her of her sceptre, without a cause, that induced Elizabeth to propose an enquiry to be held, in England, with regard to the grounds of such complaints. This enquiry, by the unexampled artifices of Elizabeth, and Cecil, was converted into the means of *utterly disgracing the Scottish Queen to the world.*

The enquiry began, at York, after long delays, with religious ceremonies, to give it solemnity, and the administration of oaths, for faithful performance, to the several commissioners. It ended, by Elizabeth's commissioners receiving, *clandestinely*, Murray's assistants, to a private conference, who said of her what was most disgraceful, and read documents, which were forged or falsified. The result of such clandestine inquisition, however contrary to the oaths taken, for enforcing purity of conduct, was sent to Elizabeth, by her commissioners. What was this

but a gross contravention of their oaths of honesty? What was this, but acting, knavishly, to supply Elizabeth with calumny against the Queen of Scots.

Elizabeth, and Cecil, were thus enabled to see, how they could wound the Queen of Scots most effectually. They transferred the whole proceedings, from York to Westminster, and from Westminster to Hampton-Court. The same religious ceremonies were again repeated; the same oaths were now taken, by Cecil, and other commissioners; and Murray, with his associates, were incited to charge the Queen of Scots with the murder of her husband. In vain did the Bishop of Ross remonstrate, that Murray had been summoned to answer the Queen, and not the Queen to answer Murray. What cannot artifices, and perfidy, perform? 'The Scottish Queen, who had protested, that she would not submit to be judged, by any sovereign on earth, was now brought before Elizabeth, and Cecil, on a charge of murder. Whether she answered to this charge, Cecil cared not: Though he had taken an oath of fidelity, like Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, he received, as proofs, copies of original forgeries, interpolated papers, and castrated records: He made Murray, and his associates swear, that those documents were all genuine, though Cecil, and his witnesses, knew that they were all false. Elizabeth urged Mary to answer in defence of her character, which had thus been attacked. Mary, with many a sigh, agreed to answer, by showing, that the very men, who had charged her, with murder, were themselves the murderers: She engaged to do this, if Elizabeth would give her copies of the documents, which had been received, in evidence, against her. Elizabeth avowed, that this request was

very reasonable: But, never granted what she admitted to be just. As Elizabeth, and Cecil, did not so much want to convict, as to calumniate Mary, they did not trouble themselves, greatly, whether she defended her character, which they meant to blast. At the end of three months, Murray was sent away to Scotland, with his boxful of forgeries, in order to rule a dependent state. The Scottish Queen was at the same time, condemned to closer imprisonment, for life, not as a sacrifice, to justice, but as the object of Cecil's hatred, and Elizabeth's malignity. To the perjury, which Norfolk, and his coadjutors, had committed, Cecil now added baser subornation. Elizabeth, in her character of judge, acknowledged what was right, yet did she act wrong; though she knew how *even-handed* is justice, yet did she act with squint-eyed injury; though she arrogated the king-becoming graces of justice, verity, and temperance; yet, had she no relish of them, when she contemplated a woman, and a queen, her nearest relation, and her next heir, condemned to prison.

Elizabeth, and Cecil, had now obtained all the materials of calumny: and they proceeded to execute Knollys's recommendation, *to disgrace utterly to the world* the Scottish Queen. They caused a thousand libels to be published against her; they distributed Buchanan's *Detection*, particularly, at the court of France; and they obtained, from the French government, an order, that nothing should be published, in France, in favour of the Scottish Queen. Elizabeth, and Cecil, stopped the bishop of Ross's *Defence*, at the press, before a few pages of it were printed: They intercepted the copies of this work, which, having been

printed abroad, was seized, when imported into England. By such means, then, did Elizabeth, and Cecil, *utterly disgrace the Scottish Queen to the world.*

By such calumnation, was Elizabeth's malignity induced to say, on Palm Sunday 1572, "*that the Queen of Scots's head should never be in quiet.*" Hence, the frequent commands from Elizabeth to the wardens of Mary "to keep her close; to keep her safe:" Hence, also, the frequent negotiations with the captive Queen, which could have no other object, than to raise hopes, that were not to be gratified.

The health of the Scottish Queen now began to fail; owing to confinement, want of air, and want of exercise, which were aggravated, by daily vexation. The right of Elizabeth, for her humour, to deprive the Scottish Queen of her freedom, of her health, and of her quiet, was not explained, and could not be justified.

In the midst of such debility the two houses of Parliament, owing to the intrigues of Burghley, passed an act of attainder against the captive Queen. But, what was this, to the act of Parliament, which, owing to the same intrigues, was made to entrap that imprisoned princess. On this act, was she tried, for her life, owing to the machinations of Elizabeth's ministers; and after defending herself against so many statesmen, and lawyers, with self possession, knowledge, and vigour, was she condemned to die. It was the vice, and villainy, of Elizabeth, which dictated the guilty letter of Walsingham, and Davison, to Paulet, and Drury; intimating Elizabeth's wish, that some way might be found by them, "*to shorten the life of that Queen.*" Beyond this, the wickedness of Elizabeth could not easily go.

But, Elizabeth, and her ministers, did go one step further. At the beginning of February 1586-7, they spread reports, that the Papists had fired London, and that the Queen of Scots had escaped: They even carried their artifices so far, as to send out to the several towns, "*precepts of hue and cry, for retaking the Scottish Queen.*" Of this singular fact, there can be no doubt. But, it may well be asked, on what foundation were these falsehoods grounded? The answer can only be, that as the incitement of Paulet, and Drury, "to shorten the life of the Queen of Scots," had failed, there was another attempt, by the same ministers, to raise universal indignation against the unfortunate Queen; that in the midst thereof, a popular tumult might arise, which, by one outrageous stroke, might close her life for ever. But, they were again disappointed, in obtaining the assassination of the Queen of Scots. When the unfortunate Queen fell under the axe of Elizabeth, the surrounding multitude *sighed and sorrowed*, saith Camden: The Earl of Kent, on that occasion, alone showed his fanaticism, and fury.

We have now perceived the *indignities*, and *wrongs*, done and offered, by the Queen of Scots to the Queen's majesty, as shewn by Burghley: We have, equally, seen what were the *indignities*, and *wrongs*, done, and offered, by the Queen's majesty, to the Queen of Scots. The state papers, and this *Life*, evince the facts. The first, or wrongs to Elizabeth, when properly understood, will be found, to amount to neither injury, nor wrong, notwithstanding the art, and enmity of Burghley. As to the second, or Elizabeth, and Cecil's wrongs, and

injuries, to the Scottish Queen; they began with her widowhood, and by continual progress, ended with her life, upon the scaffold. One truth is clear, from *the note* of Cecil, that while Elizabeth was, in the act, of daily wrong to Mary; the Scottish Queen, by endeavouring to free herself, from imprisonment, did no injury to Elizabeth:

“ *Forgiveness to the injured doth belong ;*

“ *But, they ne’er pardon, who commit the wrong.”*

*The Queen of Scots’s celebrated letter to Elizabeth, from
Sheffield, 8th November, 1582.*

The Queen, said Blackwood, at the reported seizure of her son, by Lord Gowry, having received an intimation of her son’s captivity, *fell so sick*, that *she thought she should die*; as the English physicians reported, she would, to their mistress; who wanted nothing better; having the son already in her power, or, which was the same, in the hands of the nobles, who were devoted to her: With this seizure the poor mother being greatly agitated, in her mind, *after she had addressed her prayers to God*, put her hand to the pen; thinking to obtain favour from, and to soften the heart of her cousin, by this address, which I have here subjoined :

Madam,

Upon that which has come to my knowledge of the last conspiracies executed, in Scotland, against my poor child, having reason to fear the consequence of it, from the example of myself; I must employ *the very small remainder of my life, and strength, before my death*,

to discharge my heart to you fully, of my just, and melancholy complaints: of which I desire, that this letter may serve you, as long as you live after me, for a perpetual testimony, and engraving upon your conscience; as much for my discharge to posterity, as to the shame, and confusion of all those, who, under your approbation, have so cruelly, and unworthily, treated me to this time, and reduced me to the extremity, in which I am. But, as their designs, practices, actions, and proceedings, though as detestable as they could have been, have always prevailed with you against my very just remonstrances, and sincere deportment; and as the power, which you have in your hands, has always been a reason for you among mankind; I will have recourse to the living God, our only judge, who has established us, equally, and immediately, under him, for the government of his people.'

I will invoke him to the end of this my very pressing affliction, that he will return to you, and to me, (as he will do in his last judgment) the share of our merits, and demerits, one towards the other. And remember, madam, that to him we shall not be able to disguise any thing, by the paint, and policy of the world; though mine enemies, under you, have been able, for a time, to cover their subtle inventions to men, perhaps to you.

In his name, and as before him sitting, between you, and me, I will remind you; that by the agents, spies, and secret messengers, sent in your name into Scotland, while I was there, my subjects were corrupted, and encouraged to rebel against me, *to make attempts upon my person*, and in one word, to speak, do, enterprize, and

execute that, which has come to the said country, during my troubles.¹ Of which I will not at present specify other proof, than that, which I have gained of it, by the confession of one, who was afterwards amongst those, that were most advanced, for this good service, and of the witnesses confronted with him. To whom, if I had since done justice, he had not afterwards, *by his antient intelligences*, renewed the same practices against my son; and had not procured for all my traitorous and rebellious subjects, who took refuge with you, that aid, and support, which they have had, even since my detention *on this side*; without which support, I think, the said traitours could not since have prevailed, nor afterwards have stood out so long, as they have done.

During my imprisonment at Lochleven, the late Trogmarton [Throkmorton] counselled me on your behalf, to sign that demission, which he advertised me would be presented to me; assuring me, that it could not be valid. And there was not afterwards a place in christendom, where it was held for valid, or maintained, except *on this side*; [where it was maintained] even to having assisted, with open force, the authors of it. In your conscience, madam, would you acknowledge an equal liberty, and power, in your subjects? Notwithstanding this, my authority has been, by my subjects, transferred to my son, when he was not capable of exercising it.

And since I was willing to assure it, lawfully, to him, he being of age to be assisted to his own advantage, it is suddenly ravished from him, and assigned over to two or

¹ The allusion is to Randolph, the corrupt agent of Elizabeth, in Scotland.

three traitours; who having taken from him the effectiveness of it, will take from him, as they have from me, both the name, and the title of it, if he contradicts them in the manner he may, and perhaps his life, if God does not provide for his preservation.

When I was escaped from Lochlevin, ready to give battle to my rebels; I remitted to you, by a gentleman, express, a diamond jewel, which I had formerly received, as a token from you, and with assurance to be succoured by you against my rebels; and even that, on my retiring towards you, you would come to the very frontiers, in order to assist me; which had been confirmed to me, by divers messengers.^m

This promise coming, and repeatedly, from your mouth (though I had found myself often abused by your ministers) made me place such affiance on the effectiveness of it; that, when my army was routed, I came directly to throw myself, into your arms, if I had been able to approach them. But while I was planning to set out, and find you, there was I arrested on my way, surrounded with guards, secured in strong places, and at last reduced, all shame set aside, to the captivity, in which I remain, to this day, *after a thousand deaths, which I have already suffered from it.*

I know, that you will alledge to me what passed between the late Duke Nortfolk [of Norfolk] and me. I maintain, that there was nothing in this to your prejudice, or against the publick good of this realm; and that

^m Elizabeth appears, from this, to have early formed the design of drawing Mary into England, under the pretence of assisting her.

the treaty was sanctioned with the advice, and signatures, of the first persons, who were then of your council, under the assurance of making it appear good to you.

How could such personages have undertaken the enterprize, of making you consent to a point, which should deprive you of life, of honour, and your crown; as you have shown yourself, persuaded, it would have done, to all the embassadours, and others, who speak to you, concerning me?

In the mean time my rebels perceiving, that their headlong course was carrying them much farther than they had thought before, and the truth being evidenced concerning the calumnies, that had been propagated of me at the conference, to which I submitted, in full assembly, of your deputies and mine, with others of the contrary party, in that country, in order to clear myself publickly of them; there were the principals, for having come to repentance, besieged by your forces, in the castle of Edinbrough, and one of the first among them poisoned,ⁿ and the other most cruelly hanged;^o after I had two times made them lay down their arms, at your request, in hopes of an agreement, which God knows, whether my enemies aimed at.

I have been, for a long time, trying, whether patience could soften the rigour, and ill treatment, which they have begun, for these ten years, peculiarly to make me suffer. And accommodating myself exactly to the order prescribed me, for my captivity in this house; as well in regard to the number, and quality of the attendants, which I retain, dismissing the others; as for my diet, and ordi-

ⁿ Secretary Maitland.

^o The laird of Grange.

nary exercise, for my health; I am living, even at present, as quietly, and peaceably, as one much inferiour to myself, and more obliged, than with such treatment, I was to you, had been able to do: even to deprive myself, in order to take away all shadow of suspicion, and diffidence from you, of requiring to have some intelligence with my son, and my country, which is what, by no right, or reason, could be denied me, and principally with my child; whom, instead of this, they endeavoured by every way to persuade against me, in order to weaken us by our division.^p

It was permitted me, you will say, to send one to visit him there, about three years ago. His captivity then at Sterling, under the tyranny of Morton, was the cause of it; as his liberty was afterwards, of a refusal to make the like visit. All this year past, I have several times entered into divers overtures, for the establishment of a good amity between us, and a sure understanding between these two realms in future. To Chatsworth, about ten years ago, commissioners were sent me, for that purpose. A treaty has been held upon it with yourself, by my embassadours, and those of France. I even myself made, concerning it, the last winter, all the advantageous overtures to Beal, that it was possible to make. What return have I had thence? My good intention has been despised, the sincerity of my actions has been doubted, and calumniated, the state of my affairs has been traversed by delays, postponings, and other such like artifices. And, in conclusion, a worse, and more unworthy

^p How does this continue, to lengthen out the vile, and gloomy picture of Elizabeth's conduct to Mary!

treatment from day to day, any thing, which I am compelled to do, in order to deserve the contrary, my very long, useless, and prejudicial patience, have reduced me so low ; that mine enemies, in their habits of using me ill, think this day they have the right of prescription for treating me, not as a prisoner, which in reason I could not be, but as some slave, whose life, and whose death, depend only upon their tyranny.^a

I cannot, madam, suffer it any longer ; and I must, in dying, discover the authors of my death, or, living, attempt, under your protection, to find an end to the cruelties, calumnies, and traitorous designs of my said enemies, in order to establish me in some little more repose, for the remainder of my life. To take away the occasions pretended for all differences between us, clear yourself, if you please, of all which has been reported to you concerning my actions ; review the depositions of the strangers taken in Ireland ; let those of the Jesuits last executed be represented to you ; give liberty to those who would undertake to charge me publickly, and permit me to enter upon my defence : if any evil be found in me, let me suffer it, it shall be patiently when I shall know the occasion of it : if any good, suffer me not to be worse treated for it, with your very great commission before God and man.

The vilest criminals, that are in your prisons, born under your obedience, are admitted to their justification ; and their accusers, and their accusations, are always declared to them. Why then shall not the same order

^a What heart is there, but must here feel, for the injured Queen !

have place, towards me a Sovereign Queen, your nearest relation and lawful heir? I think, that this last circumstance has hitherto been, on the side of my enemies, the principal cause of it, and of all their calumnies, to make their unjust pretensions slide between the two, by keeping us in division. But, alas! they have now little reason and less need, to torment me more upon this account. For I protest to you upon mine honour, that I look this day for no kingdom, but that of my God; whom I see preparing me, for the better conclusion of all my afflictions and adversities past.

This will be to you [a monition] to discharge your conscience towards my child, as to what belongs to him on this point after my death; and in the mean time not to let prevail to his prejudice, the continual practices and secret conspiracies, which our enemies in this realm are making daily for the advancement of their said pretensions; labouring on the other side with our traitorous subjects in Scotland, by all the means which they can, to hasten his ruin; of which I do not demand other, or better verification, than the charges given to your last deputies sent into Scotland, and what the said deputies have seditiously practised there, as I believe, without your knowledge, but with good, and sufficient solicitation of the earl my good neighbour at York.^r

And on this point, Madam, by what right can it be maintained, that I, the mother of my child, am totally prohibited, not only from assisting him, in the necessity so urgent, in which he is, but also from having any in-

^r The Earl of Huntingdon, who was then lord president at York.

telligence of his state? Who can bring him more carefulness, duty, and sincerity, than I? To whom can he be more near? At the least, if sending to him, to provide for his preservation, as the Earl of Cheresbury [Shrewsbury] made me lately understand, that you did, you had pleased to take my advice in the matter; you would have interposed with a better face, as I think, and with more obligingness to me. But consider, what you leave me to think, when forgetting so suddenly the offence, which you pretended to have taken against my son, at the time I was requesting you that we should send together to him; you have dispatched one to the place where he was a prisoner, not only without giving me advice of it, but debarring me at the very time from all liberty, that by no way whatever I might have any news of him.

And if the intention of those, who have procured on your part this so prompt a visit of my son, had been for his preservation, and the repose of the country; they needed not to have been so careful, in concealing it from me, as a matter, in which I should not have been willing to concur with you. By this means they have lost you the good-will, which I should have had for you. And, to talk to you more plainly upon the point, I pray you not to employ there any more such means, or such persons. For, although I hold the Lord de Kerri [Cary, Lord Hunsdon] too sensible of the rank, from which he is sprung, to engage his honour, in a villainous act; he has had for an assistant a sworn partisan of the Earl of Huntingdon's, by whose bad offices, an action as bad has nearly succeeded to a similar effect. I shall be contented then, only at your not permitting my son to receive

any injury from this country (which is all, that I have ever required of you before, even when an army was sent to the borders, to prevent justice from being done to that detestable Morton ;) and that none of your subjects directly, or indirectly, intermeddle any more, in the affairs of Scotland, unless it is with my knowledge, to whom all cognizance of these things belongs, or with the assistance of some one on the part of the most christian King, my good brother; whom, as our principal ally, I desire to make privy to the whole of this cause, because of the little credit, that he can have with the traitours, who detain my son at present.

In the meantime, I declare with all openness to you, that I hold this last conspiracy, and innovation, for pure treason against the life of my son, the good of his affairs, and that of the country; and that while he shall be in the state, in which I understand he is, I shall esteem no word, writing, or other act, that comes from him, or is passed under his name, as proceeding, from his free, and voluntary disposition, but only from the said conspirators, who at the price of his life, are making him to serve, as a masque to them.

But, Madam, with all this freedom of speech, which I can foresee, will in some sort displease you, though it be the truth itself; you will find it more strange, I assure myself, that I come now to importune you again with a request of much greater importance, and yet very easy for you to grant, and release to me. This is, that having not been able hitherto, by accommodating myself patiently so long a time to the rigorous treatment of this captivity, any carrying myself sincerely in all things, yea, even to the least, that could concern you a very little, to

gain myself some assurance of my entire affection towards you; all my hope being taken away by it, of being better treated, for the very short time, which remains to me of life: I supplicate you, by the honour of the sorrowful passion of our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, again I supplicate you, at once to permit me to withdraw myself out of your realm, into some place of repose; to search out some comfort for my poor body, so wearied as it is with continual sorrows; and with liberty of my conscience to prepare my soul for God, who is calling for it daily.

Believe, Madam, and the physicians, whom you sent me this last summer, are able sufficiently to judge the same; that I am not for a long continuance, so as to give you any foundation of jealousy or distrust of me. And, notwithstanding this, take of me such assurances and conditions, just and reasonable, as you shall choose. The greatest power rests always on your side, to make me keep them; though for nothing whatever would I wish to break them. You have had sufficient experience of my observance of my simple promises, and sometimes to my prejudice; as I shewed you upon this very point, about two years ago. Recollect, if you please, what I then wrote you; and you will not know how to bind my heart to you so much, as by kindness, though you keep for ever my poor body languishing between four walls; those of my rank, and nature, not leaving themselves to be gained, or forced, by any rigour.

Your prison, without any right and just foundation, has already destroyed my body; of which you will shortly have the end, if it continues there a little longer; and my enemies will not have much time, for glutting

their cruelties on me; nothing remains of me, but the soul, *which all your power cannot make captive*. Give it then room for aspiring a little more freely after its salvation; which alone it seeks for, at this day, more than any grandeur of this world. It seems to me, that it cannot be to you any great satisfaction, honour, and advantage, for mine enemies to trample my life under foot, till they have stifled me, in your presence. Whereas, if in this extremity, however late it be, you release me out of their hands, you will bind me greatly to you, and bind all those, who belong to me, particularly, my poor child; whom you will perhaps make sure to yourself by it.

I will not cease to importune you with this request, until it be granted me. And, on this account, I pray you to let me understand your intention; having, in order to comply with you, waited even to the present day, for two years, to renew my urgency for it; for which the miserable state of my health presses me more, than you can think. In the mean time, provide, if you please, for the bettering of my treatment *on this side*, that I may not suffer any longer; and remit me not to the discretion of any other whatever, but your own self, from whom alone (as I wrote to you lately) I wish for the future to hold all the good, and the evil, which I shall receive, in your country. Do me this favour, to let me have your intention in writing, or the embassadour of France, for me. For to tie me up to what the Earl of Scherusbery [Shrewsbury], or others, shall speak, or write about it, on your behalf; I have too much experience, to be able to put any assurance in it: the least point, which they shall capriciously fancy, being sufficient, to innovate the whole, from one day to another.

Besides this, the last time that I wrote to those of your council, you made me understand, that I ought not to address myself to them, but to you alone (and so to extend their credit and authority only to do me hurt, could not be reasonable; as has happened in this last limitation, in which, against your intention, I have been treated with much indignity.) This gives me every occasion for doubting, that some of my enemies, in your said council, may have procured it with a design, of keeping others of the said council, from being made privy to my just complaints; lest the others should see perhaps *their companions*, adhere to their wicked *attempts upon my life*; of which, if they should have any knowledge, they would oppose them, for the sake of your honour, and of their duty towards you.^s

Two things, I have principally to require, at the close: the one, that near as I am to going out of this world, I may have with me, for my consolation, some honourable churchman; to remind me daily of the course, which I have to finish, and teach me how to complete it, according to my religion, in which I am firmly resolved, to live, and to die.

This is a last duty, which cannot be denied to the most mean, and miserable person, that lives: It is a liberty, which you grant to all the foreign embassadours; as also all other Catholick Kings give to your embassadours, the exercise of their religion. And even I myself have not hitherto forced my own subjects, to any thing contrary to their religion; though I had all power, and authority over them. And that I in this extremity should be deprived of such freedom, you cannot with justice

^s The allusion was, probably to the Earl of Leicester.

require. What advantage will redound to you, when you shall deny it to me? I hope that God will excuse me, if, oppressed by you in this manner, I do not render to him any duty, but what I shall be permitted to do in my heart. But you will set a very bad example to the other princes of christendom, to act towards their subjects with the same rigour, that you shall show to me, a Sovereign Queen, and your nearest relation; which *I am, and will be, as long as I live, in despite of mine enemies.*

I would not now importune you, concerning the augmentation of my household; of which for the time that I see remaining me to live in this world, I will not have so much care. I require then from you, only two women of the chamber, to assist me, during my sickness; attesting to you before God, that they are very necessary to me, now I shall be a poor creature among this simple people. Grant these to me, for the honour of God; and show, in this instance, that mine enemies have not so much credit with you against me, as to exercise their vengeance, and cruelty, in a point of so little consequence, and depending upon a simple office of humanity.

I will come now to that, with which the Earl of Shrewsbury [Shrewsbury] has charged me, if such a one as he can charge me; which is this: that contrary to my promise made to Beal, and without your knowlege, I have been negotiating with my son, to yield to him my title to the crown of Scotland; when I had obliged myself not to proceed in it but with your advice, by one of my servants, who should be directed by one of yours in their common journey thither. These are, I think, the very words of the said count.

I will tell you, upon this, Madam, that Beal has not

ever had a simple, and absolute promise of me ; but indeed overtures conditional, to which I cannot remain bound, in the fashion, in which the business is, unless the conditions, which I annexed to it, might be previously executed ; about which, so far is he from being satisfied, that, on the contrary, I have never had any answer from him, or heard mention of it since on his side. And on this account I remember very well, that the Earl of Scheresbery [Shrewsbury,] about last Easter, wanting to draw from me a new confirmation of what I had spoken to the said Beal ; I replied to him very fully, that it was only in case the said conditions might be granted, and consequently effectuated, to me. The one, and the other, are yet living to testify this to you, if they will tell the truth about it. Then seeing that no answer was made me ; but, on the contrary, that by delays, and neglects, mine enemies continued more licentious than ever their practices, formed since the residence of the said Beal with me, in order to traverse my just intentions, in Scotland, so as the effects have been well witnessed there ; and that, by this means, the door remained open to the ruin of my son, and of myself ; I took your silence for a refusal, and discharged myself, by express letters, as well to you, as to your council, from all that I had treated upon with the said Beal.

I made you fully privy to what monsieur, the King, and madame, the Queen, had written to me, with their own hands, upon this business ; and I asked your advice upon it, which is yet to come, with which it was in truth my intention to proceed, if you had given it me in time, and you had permitted me to send to my son ; assisting me in the overtures, which I had proposed to you, in

order to establish between the two realms a good amity, and perfect intelligence for the future. But, to bind myself, nakedly, to follow your advice, before I knew what it would be, and for the journey of our servants, to put mine under the direction of yours, even in my own country ; I was never yet so simple, as to think of it.

Now I refer to your consideration, if you knew of the false game, which mine enemies *on this side* have played me, in Scotland, to reduce things to the point, at which they stand ; which of us has proceeded with the greatest sincerity. God judge between them, and me, and avert from this isle the just punishment of their demerits.

Send back again at once the intelligence, which my traitorous subjects of Scotland can have given you. You will find, and I will maintain it, before all the christian princes, that no one thing whatever has there passed, on my side, to your prejudice, or against the good, and repose of this realm, which I affect not less than any counsellor, or subject, that you have, having more interest in it than any of them.

There was a negotiation, for gratifying my son with the title, and name of King ; and for making sure, as well the said title to him, as all impunity to the rebels for their offences past ; and for replacing every thing, in repose, and tranquillity for the future, without any innovation of any thing whatever. Was this to take away the crown from my son ? Mine enemies, as I believe, wished not at all that the crown should be made sure to him ; and on that account are very content, that he should keep it by the unlawful violence of some traitours, enemies, from all antiquity, to all our family.^r Was

^r The allusion is probably to the Ruthvens.

this then to seek for justice upon the past offences of the said traitours, which my clemency has always surpassed?

But an evil conscience cannot ever be assured, carrying continually its fear in its very great trouble within itself. Was it to wish a change in the repose of the country; to procure it by a mild pardon of every thing past, and a general reconciliation between all our subjects? This is the point, which our enemies *on this side* fear, as much show as they make of desiring it. What prejudice would be done to you by this? Mark then, and verify, if you please, by what other point: I will answer to it upon mine honour.

Ah! Will you, madam, let yourself to be so blind to the artifices of mine enemies, as to establish after you, and perhaps against yourself, their unjust pretensions to this crown; will you suffer them in your life time, and look at them, while they are ruining, and so cruelly destroying those, who concern you so near both in heart, and in blood? What advantage and honour can you hope for, in suffering them to keep us, my son, and me, so long separated, and him and me from you.

Resume the ancient pledges of your good nature; bind your relations to yourself; give me the satisfaction before I die, that seeing all matters happily settled again between us, my soul, when delivered from this body, may not be constrained to display its lamentations before God, for the wrong, which you will have suffered to be done me here below; but rather that being happily united to you, it may quit this captivity, to set forward towards him, whom I pray, to inspire you happily upon

my very just, and more than reasonable complaints, and grievances.

At Sheffield, this 8th of November, one thousand five hundred eighty two.

Your very disconsolate, nearest relation,
and affectionate cousin,

MARIE R.

MEM. This forcible, and pathetic letter, says a great writer, is rendered obscure, in places, by that, which is incident to all letters, the quick glancing of the mind to, and from circumstances, familiar to the writer, and to the receiver, and therefore noticed in a cursory manner only. But, it has been considered, as so pathetic, and so forcible, that Blackwood inserted it in his MS. history of Mary's sufferings, even before 1585, and actually published it, in his history, so early as 1587. Camden, also, formed an abridgement of it, and placed it in his annals. [Origin. i. 332—7; Transl. 276—80.] Dr. Steuart, too, has equally interrupted the course of his narrative with it, after he had spoken of it, in these terms: “When
“the intelligence of the captivity of her son,” he says,
“and of the bold proceedings of the conspirators reach-
“ed Mary, her care, agitation, and anguish, were driven
“to the most affecting extremity: And giving vent to
“her sensibility, she addressed a letter to Elizabeth, in
“which she maintains her dignity, while she yields to
“her resentments; and in which she has intermingled,
“in an admirable manner, the most fervent protestations
“of innocence, and the boldest language of expostula-
“tion, and reproach. Its ability, and vigour, are uncom-

“ mon, and give it a title to survive, in the history of “ the Scotch nation.” [ii. 164.] And Mademoiselle de Keralio has published it, a fourth time, in her Appendix, v. 349. But Camden’s abridgement, which I admired much, continues Mr. Whitaker, before I discovered the original, has lost many of the beauties, in the letter, and Camden has ventured to make some additions of his own. Dr. Steuart, also, has formed his copy of the letter, by abridging the abridgment of Camden, by copying his additions, as parts of the original, and by licentiously paraphrasing all. And Mad. de Keralio, not attending to this conduct, and not knowing of the French original, has turned Dr. Steuart’s letter into French, and given it to her readers, as the true original. [The French original is in the Cotton lib. Calig. C. vii. 51.] In this manner is history, unintentionally, falsified; and thus has the French letter been translated back into French again. I have given the original itself. I have added to it a translation. I thus, says the vindicator of Mary, take leave of my reader, even in my Appendix, with a genuine letter of Mary’s; which recapitulates the conduct of Elizabeth to her, in all its principal outlines; which shows Elizabeth to us, as we have seen her before, but with an addition of evidence, mean, tyrannical, insidious, and savage; and also shows the soul of Mary to us, at the seeming approaches of death, recollected in its sentiments, earnest in its feelings, maintaining her innocence with awful solemnity, and appealing to that God, before whom she thought she was going to appear, for the vindication of her honour, and the avenging of her wrongs.

From the interesting nature of distress, the elevating force of innocence, and the ennobling dignity of religion;

the sick, and dying Mary here appears, with a majesty, before which the low souled Elizabeth shrinks abashed, and confounded. Every honest, and generous feeling of our hearts comes forward to the aid of the oppressed Queen. And we think of her oppression, with disgust, with disdain, and with detestation." [The letter of Mary thus published, in English, is from the translation of her very able vindicator, iii. App. xvii.]

MEMOIR I.

*Of the Calumnies, concerning Mary Steuart,
from her cradle to her grave.*

THE very birth of the queen was maligned by the calumnious pen of the Scottish reformer: "In the mean time," says he, "was the Queen upon the point of her delivery, in Lynlithgow, who was delivered the [7] 8th day of December 1542, of Mary, that then was born, and now does reign, for *a plague to this realm*;" "The real father of Mary," adds this calumniator, "was Cardinal Beaton; and the suspicion thereof caused him to be inhibited the Queen's company."^a

But, what is this scandal to Knox's "First Blast to the Monstrous Government of Women?" Beyond the vehemence of Knox even his own fanaticism could not easily go: with

^a Knox's *History*, 31. Archbishop Spottiswoode, however, who had full as good opportunities of knowing the truth, charges Knox with forging dishonest things of the Queen-mother: and adds, that this reformer, in his whole discourse, shews a bitter, and hateful spite against her. *Hist.* 146-7. See Keith, *Appendix* 89, who concurs with Spottiswoode. ^b Strype's *Annals*, i. 122-3.

the Bible, in his hand, and Calvinism, in his head, he forgot, through life, the divine commands ; Not to bear false witness against his neighbour ; not to speak evil of dignities.

Mary's person, whatever might be her beauty, or her wit, did not protect her throughout an envious reign. Soon after her birth, in an interview, between the Queen-mother, and Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, the Queen said, " that it had been reported *her child* " *was not likely to live* ; but you shall see, " quoth she, whether that be true, or not ; and " therewith she caused me to go with her to " the chamber, where the child was, and shewed " her unto me, and also caused the nurse, to " unwrap her out of her clothes, that I might " see her naked. I assure your majesty, it is " as goodly a child, as I have seen of her age, " and as like to live, with the grace of God.^c" It was Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the heir presumptive of the Scottish crown, who had thus spoken of the infant Queen, *as being unlikely to live* ; and whose intimation was thus dis-

^c Sadler's Letter to Henry VIII. 23d March, 1549. *State Papers*, i. 87. It is here curious to observe, that Sir Ralph Sadler lived to enquire into the conduct of the Scottish Queen, at the end of five and twenty years, when he maligned her to Elizabeth, in his letter, from York. *Ib.* 337.

proved, by the Queen-mother, a princess of great sense, as well as, of sound discretion.

Not only were the birthright, and the health of Mary calumniated, but her education is misrepresented, as corrupt : “ The court of Henry “ II. of France is said to have been most dissolute, as well as the most refined, in Europe.” But, was the court of Henry II. more dissolute than that of Henry VIII. ? What were the corruptions of those courts to the wickedness of the Murrays, and Mortons, and Maitlands of reformed Scotland, who murdered the King, and cast the guilt thereof upon the disconsolate Queen ! “ The early education of Mary,” continues Mr. Laing, “ under her uncles, and Catharine “ of Medicis, at a court, which produced such “ flagitious characters as Charles IX. Henry III. “ and Margaret of Anjou,* among persons, who “ afterwards projected the massacre of Paris, “ can give us no great assurance of a mind, “ utterly incapable of those crimes, which have “ been laid to her charge.” But, who ever heard of a mind utterly incapable of corruption ! His zeal of crimination did not allow Mr. Laing to perceive, that the reformation itself, in the tumultuous mode, in which it was, ge-

* Thus in the original. Margaret of Anjou was the Queen of Henry VI. and died in 1481, whose singular heroism entitled her to a better fortune. ^d Laing's *Dissertation*, 1-4.

nerally, effected, produced flagitiousness of character : as all violent revolutions have the worst effect on the human temperament. There is more knowledge of life, in a common observation of the Scottish Queen, which she used to repeat, in a French phrase, than in a thousand of Laing's sophistries : *The best of women are but women at best.* It is, at the same time, curious to recollect, that every calumniator of womankind, from Iago to Laing, when he would ruin an individual, by detraction, always begins his attack, by calumniating the whole sex. Yet, where is Mr. Laing's charge against the princess, whose mind was not utterly incapable of corruption ? Where are his proofs ? When the busy hand of forgery shall have produced a dozen love letters, some love sonnets, and a couple of marriage contracts, between a married woman, and a married man ; then, will the calumniator of Mary Steuart produce his charge with all those proofs, for the belief of the credulous, and the disputation of polemicks. Till the infant Queen was sent to France, in July 1548, she was educated, under the parental eye of a circumspect mother, in Stirling castle, and in Inch Mahome, within the impervious recesses of Monteith.^e When thus secured, from the

^e An isle, in the loch of Monteith, having a monastery, from ancient times. She was therein committed to the hands

arms, and the arts, of Henry VIII, and of Edward VI, we may say of Mary, with Waller :

“ Happy is she, that from the world retires,

“ And carries with her what the world admires.”

The Scottish Queen arrived, at Brest, on the 13th of August 1548. She was now sent, when she was not quite six, to a monastery, which was appropriated to the education of the noblest virgins of France. Here, was she educated, at a distance, from court, not only in all the accomplishments of her sex, but, in those classical studies, that are appropriate to boys : so that, when she was not more than twelve years old, she is said “ to have been so well acquainted with Latin, Italian, and French, “ that she made verses, in all those languages, “ as well as her own.” She was married to the Dauphin, at the age of sixteen, when she was admired, for her accomplishments, and re-

of John, Lord Erskine, and Alexander, Lord Livingston, who each received, for their care £80., a month, from the last of November 1545 to the last of February 1547-8 ; being the day, on which they departed, with the Queen, from Inch Mahome, to Dumbarton, on her voyage to France. In the Parliament of Haddington, on the 20th of July 1548, those noble lords received a formal discharge, for their faithful performance of that important trust ; the Queen being then sent to France, with “ assent of the Estates.”

spected for her virtues. Even the Huguenots of France, who were full as censorious, as the Knoxites of Scotland, did not so much calumniate Mary's character, as her kingdom, whose amalgamation with France, they supposed, with more cavil than policy, to have been more injurious than useful to France. The steadiness, with which she adhered to her religion, through many a trial of her temper, is the best proof of its effects upon her life; the length of her mourning, for her first husband, who died on the 5th of December 1563,^f and the vehemence of her grief, for her second, demonstrate, that her heart was uncorrupted, by courts, that her manners were uncontaminated, by the various changes of a vicious age. Scottish writers would do well not to reproach other nations with such corruption, as the scribblers of such nations may retort the murder of Cardinal Beaton, by the pensioners of a reformed king, the assassination of Rizzio, by a protestant Lord Chancellor, in the presence of the Queen, for the good of *the religion*; and the strangling of a king, by a reformed faction, for the base purpose of letting in a bastard to the vice-regal chair.

^f When Knox mentions "the death of the young King of France," he speaks of him as, "the husband to our *JESABEL*." *Hist.* ed. 1, p. 506.

Something of the same injurious spirit we may perceive, in Buchanan's reflections, on the Queen's return, in 1561, to her own kingdom. "Besides the variety of her dangers," said this prototype of Laing, "the excellence of her beauty, the vigour of her adult age, and the elegance of her wit, did much commend her. But these accomplishments, her courtly education, had either much increased, or at least made them more acceptable, by a false disguise of vertue, not sincere, but shaded only to a similitude thereof, which made the goodness of her nature, by her desire to please, less agreeable." Such, then, were the learned detractions of Buchanan's ingratitude. As an historian, we thus see him attempting to praise, that he may condemn; and to condemn, that he may not praise: to insinuate what he cannot prove: and to assume what he must insinuate.

When the widowed Queen arrived within her own kingdom, corrupted as it had been by violences, and reformed into vice, her calumniators, as we have just seen, could, only, *hesitate dislike, or damn, by faint praise*, without proofs of any charge, or any charge to prove. If misrepresentations, indeed, were proofs, the calumniators of Mary Steuart would leave none of their imputations unproved. Knox, in giving

an account of the Queen's arrival, says, " the
 " very face of the heavens, at the time, did ma-
 " nifestly speak what comfort was brought into
 " this country with her, to wit, sorrow, darkness,
 " dolor, and all impiety."§ Yes; there were
sorrow, and *dolor*, among greater men than
 Knox, that their sovereign was not intercepted,
 on her voyage to Scotland, and carried to the
 castles of Elizabeth, her very good cousin, who
 by the advice of the Murrays, and Maitlands,
 sent out ships to bring her sister Queen into
 port. The darkness, and dolor, and impiety of
 Knox, existed, chiefly, in his own mind, which
 supposed every thing to be darksome, and do-
 lorous, that did not comport with his gloomy
 notions of religious worship. Very different,
 from John Knox was our Saviour, when upon
 earth; he was all meekness, and charity; he
 was all friendship to established society, and

§ *Hist.* ed. 1732, p. 283. Randolph, the notorious agent
 of Elizabeth, at Edinburgh, writing to Sir W. Cecil, on some
 purposes which he had had with Knox, and the other mi-
 nisters, says, " To be plain with you, they are as wilful, as
 " unlearned, which I lament:" Writing again to Cecil, on
 the 12th of February, Randolph says, " Our preacher is
 " more vehement than discreet, and learned:" and, he
 adds, " that Knox, on Sunday last gave *the Cross*, and *the*
 " *Candle*, such a wipe, that those, as wise, and learned, as
 " himself, wished him to have held his peace." And to the
 same purpose, see Keith, 197.

all deference to the higher powers: Far otherwise were Knox and his disciples! The Queen, and her Parliament, passed an act; renouncing all foreign jurisdictions; and allowing every one to worship God, in his own form. The nobles, and the gentry, were satisfied with this act of *reformation*, and of *toleration*. The vulgar, however, from Knox, the apostle, to Semple, the poet, were far from pleased: in this Act of Parliament,^b there was, too much of policy, as well as Christianity, for such heated zealots. The Christian religion, rightly understood, said MORE, is the deepest, and choicest piece of philosophy, that exists:—But, of religious calumny enough!

Yet, there is another sort of calumniation, which seems to evince, that some authors cannot write on the most indifferent subjects, such as *coinage*, without calumniating the Scottish Queen.ⁱ The first coin, in the series of Mary, is supposed to be very mysterious.^k But, of her mother, the Scottish Queen might have said, in Spenser's language,

“ She, in the first flower of my freshest age,
Betrothed me unto the only heir
Of a mighty King, most rich, and sage.”

^b Of April 1567.

ⁱ Nicholson's *Hist. Lib.* 324; Cardonnel's *Numismata*.

^k Cardonnel, pl. vii. No. 1. which is a coin, in 1553, with the cypher, F. M. entwined.

Is there, then, any thing *mysterious*, that such a coin, on such an affiance, should have been struck, in France, with the initials of Francis, and Mary, so entwined? But, the same numismatist has discovered another coin of Mary, which she is supposed to have coined, in her own name, during 1566, while Darnley was yet alive.¹ There was, also, another coin of this ill-fated pair, which was called *Mary's rial*, in the record, and the *Cruikston dollar*, in tradition.^m Upon this idle tradition was founded

¹ Cardonnel, pl. viii. No. 22. Darnley was assassinated, on the 10th of February, 1566-7 : and, the year was not supposed to end till the 25th of March : so that, this coin must have been struck, between the 10th of February, and the 25th of March ; not, as is, simply, said, while Darnley lived, but, after his death.

^m Nicholson's *Hist. Lib.* 223 ; Keith, 321-7 ; and the Record of the Privy Council, dated the 22d of December 1555, in Cardonnel's *Appendix*, No. 1, which he copied, from Keith's *Appendix*, 118 ; and which directs, that the principal device on that *rial* should be a *palm tree crowned*, with the motto, *Dat gloria vires* ; in order to do honour to Darnley : some call the tree a yew-tree, says Bishop Nicholson, in 1702, who adds a report, that such a tree grew, in the garden of the Earl of Lennox, at Cruikston Castle, *Hist. Lib.* 323. We may thus perceive, how early *the tradition* was substituted, for *the record*. And Pennant, in his Tour, with his usual attention to popular tales, adopts this folly of calling the devise a *yew tree*, in opposition to the *palm tree* of the record. Neither of those writers seems to have observed, with heraldick accuracy, “ how common it was, for persons

the absurd tale, “ that Mary first resigned herself to the arms of Darnley, under the large yew-tree, which still exists, at Cruikston.” When Pennant came to advert to this popular absurdity, he adverted more classically, indeed, to Pope’s well known allusion to—“ Clifton’s proud alcove :” but, the ingenious tourist did still better, by retracting, in a subsequent volume, what he had said, without examination, in a former one.ⁿ The whole history of the Queen, and Darnley, demonstrates, that neither of them were ever, at Cruikston Castle, which, at the epoch of their marriage, was a complete ruin.^o

The Queen first saw Darnley, at Weemys-castle, in Fife, on the 16th of February 1564-5: and, they were married, in the chapel of Holyrood-house, on the 29th of July 1565, at six o’clock in the morning; when she went to

“ of quality, especially, for women, to place two branches of
 “ a palm-tree, as supporters of their coat armorial; as this
 “ ornament was the symbol of *conjugal love*, which the ancients represented, by the male, and female palm-tree.”
 Nisbet’s *Heraldry*, vol. i. part iv. p. 137.

ⁿ *Voyage to the Hebrides*, iii. 43; *Tour to Scotland*, 1772, p. 25.

^o Darnley’s father, the Earl of Lennox, never resided at an uninhabitable house: His usual residence, after his restoration, was at his manor of Stabil-grene, near Glasgow, though he resided sometimes at Houseton, in Renfrewshire.

masse; and he, to his amusements: on the following day, Darnley was proclaimed King of Scots.^p But, we hear nothing of any jaunt to Cruikston. From the moment of Mary's spousals, till the expulsion of Murray, in October, the King and Queen had to sustain a constant struggle with Elizabeth's envy, and Murray's malignity, which left "the fond pair" little leisure for dalliance, under the yew-tree of Cruikston: this yew-tree, which was thus consecrated to fame, by the loves, and the graces, ceased to bud, on the last day, of the last century, when the house of Steuart was verging fast to its fall.

The royal marriage; the rebellious opposition of the bastard Murray, which originated, in his wish to gratify Elizabeth's hate; with his expulsion, that followed his resistance; the measures, which were entered into, for obtaining his restoration, singular as they were; all contributed to the Queen's calumnation, as

^p Cecil, in his *Diary*, has settled the following dates, in this manner: on the 16th of February 1564-5, Darnley came to the Queen of Scots, at Weemys-castle; 7th of April, Lord Darnley lay sick of the measles, at Stirling; 15th April, it was, plainly, discovered, that the Queen will have Lord Darnley: 18th June, the Earl of Lennox, and Lord Darnley, were recalled, from Scotland: 29th July, Lord Darnley was married to the Queen of Scots; and on the 30th was proclaimed King.

well as anxiety. It was, only, in such an age, among such a people, such nobles, and such statesmen, who had ever the pen of forgery, in their guilty hands, that the deepest plotter could have conceived the project of assassinating the private secretary of the sovereign, in her presence, and of converting the king himself into the chief assassin: yet, such was the assassination of Rizzio, in the Queen's closet, for obtaining Murray's restoration, by creating many mischiefs. "The deeds themselves, though
"mute, spoke loud the doer." The written assignments of the various parts to the several actors are the records of their atrocious guilt. The plotters not only consisted of Lennox, the king's father, but of the leading characters in the state, with their dependents. Yet, every plot must have its pretence, and every assassin his apology. Rizzio was the Pope's partisan, and the Queen's paramour, said the plotters. When the Earl of Bedford, and the envoy, Randolph, communicated the whole detail of this plot to Elizabeth, and Cecil, they did not forget to state what was, no doubt, very agreeable to Elizabeth's taste, *Mary's guilty intercourse with the Italian Rizzio.*¹

¹ Their curious, but criminal letters of the 6th of March 1565 to Cecil, and Elizabeth, remain, in the Paper Office.

But, every paroquet can readily cry cuckold, at a venture: and every woman is obnoxious to a similar imputation, when royalty is gratified by scandal. Bedford, and Randolph, when they calumniated the Scottish Queen, were quite aware, that they would not be rigorously cross-questioned about their authority. See how a plain tale shall put them down. When the King was before the Privy Council, to explain his purpose of quitting Scotland, the Queen urged him, pressingly, to declare to the Lords, if she had ever offended him, in any thing: she pressed him not to dissemble the cause of his displeasure, and not to spare her in the least. After some hesitation, he declared freely, that the Queen had never given him any occasion, for discontent.^r Here, then, was an endeavour, by the Queen, by her council, by the French ambassador, to induce the King, to open his

The calumnious Knox, says in his first edition, p. 37; the Queen regent's daughter followed her example, by *delivering to Davie the great seal*: but, the fact is, that Huntley had the custody of *the great seal*, from the Queen's arrival, till his fall, at Corrachie, on the 28th of October 1562; and it was soon given to the Earl of Morton, who held it, at the epoch of Rizzio's assassination. The assertion of Knox, then, is one of his usual lies, for the benefit of *the religion*.

^r See the whole proceeding of the Privy Council, on the 30th September 1565, in *Keith*, 349.

griefs, and to declare his injuries: yet, when he was pressed not to spare her, he declared, freely, that the Queen had never injured him: we may remember, also, that Knox, *who did not spare her*, only said what, indeed, was untrue, that the Queen had given the great seal to Davie, which was in Morton's gripe.*

It was from the epoch of Michaelmas 1566, when Darnley came before the Privy Council, that Murray's faction doomed him to *the bow-string*; as they could no longer bear his ill humour, his ill conduct, his ill usage; and they all owed him "deep fostered hate," for his denying any concernment, in Rizzio's murder. It was, from the same period, that the same faction overspread the Queen with calumny; knowing that some of it would stick; that some

* When Sir William Cecil new-modelled Morton, and Ruthven's declaration, regarding Rizzio's slaughter, he asserted, that the deed was done, *for the benefit of the religion*; not, for defiling the Queen's bed. This last had been false; the former was fictitious; the true cause of that barbarous deed was to create a violent tumult, and disturbance, in the court, at the eve of the meeting of Parliament, during which Murray might easily return. And a belief was entertained, by the principal conspirators, that the pregnant Queen might be taken in premature labour, and die, amidst the bloody outrages of ruffians, in her palace. Such were the motives of that conspiracy, and of its effects.

of it would stain ; as she was now included, in the same reprobation. A faction, which could commit such an assassination, in such a place, were capable of committing any baseness, or any wickedness. They now assigned to the Queen, Earl Bothwell, as a new paramour, in their scandalous chronicles. They designed him, as the chief murderer of Darnley ; they assigned to him, for his second wife, the widowed queen, for his reward. But, Bothwell was to be made the scape-goat ; and the Queen was to be involved in his guilty fall. When the murder should be committed ; when the assassin should be declared innocent of the act ; when he should be married to the Queen, by their procurement, and his coercion : then, was this horrible faction to turn short round upon both ; when he was to be driven, from the kingdom ; and she, from her throne. The facts of the story evince, that such was the plot, which was to place the bastard Murray, in the vice-regal chair, since, the throne was filled, by the puling infant, who was all unconscious of his being made, by matchless villainy, the instrument of his mother's wrongs.

Every event, in the life, and reign of the Scottish Queen, was now made the groundwork of some calumnious report. The clergy propagated such calumnies, and Buchanan recorded

them. Some events, in the southern borders, were converted into the falsest imputations on the dignified object of their odious hate. Upon such motives, Buchanan wrote what Robertson re-echoed, that news being brought the queen, at Borthwick, of Bothwell being wounded, in Liddesdale, she flew away like a mad woman, by great journeys, in the sharp time of winter, first to Melros, then to Jedburgh, and from thence to Hermitage-castle: now, let us attend to the facts, in exposition of that falsehood. Some weeks before, Justice Ayres having been resolved on, by the Queen's government, to be holden at Jedburgh, Bothwell, the Queen's lieutenant, on the southern borders, was sent forward, to make the necessary preparations, for those law proceedings. On entering Hermitage-castle, a scuffle ensued with John Elliot of Park, who had some right to possess it, in which Bothwell was wounded, in the hand: this event happened, on the 8th of October. On the same day, the Queen, with her court, set out, from Edinburgh, to Jedburgh; and arrived there,

' "On the 8th of October," says Birrel, in his Diary, "the Queen went out of Edinburgh to Jedburgh; to hold a justice ayre. On the same day," continues he, "James, Earl Bothwell was deadly wounded, in the hand, by John Elliot, whose head was sent to Edinburgh, thereafter." *Diary*, 5-6. The Elliots were in possession of this castle,

on the morrow. On the 10th of October, the Queen, and her council, sat at Jedburgh; as we know, from the Privy Council Register. On the 16th of October, eight days after the wound had been given to Bothwell, the Queen rode to Hermitage-castle; as we may learn, from the Privy Seal Record: and, the Queen returned to Jedburgh on the same day; having rode out, and home, about forty statute miles: but, the Queen was in the habit of such exercise; she was in the vigour of youth; and she had from nature a great spring of personal enterprise, in her excellent constitution. The facts, and dates, and records, demonstrate the falsehood of Buchanan, and the folly of his copyist. She did not flee on the wings of love, in the depth of winter, as Buchanan states, poetically: she did not *instantly flee thither*, with an impatience, which marked the anxiety of a lover, according to the mitigated language of Robertson: she remained a week, at Jedburgh, after notice of the event, doing the publick business; and she then paid a hasty visit to her lieutenant, with the speed, which the great generally use, when their whole time is much

from the time, that Bothwell was obliged, to absent himself, in France, and when he now attempted to re-enter, they resisted, and wounded the lieutenant, in the hand.

occupied. On the morrow, she directed, that *a mass of papers* should be sent to Bothwell, when she was taken with a dangerous fever; and that certain provisions of victual might be supplied to Hermitage-castle, which was the Queen's house, and not the lieutenant's.^u The historiographer royal, in the true spirit of prejudice, leaves it to the judgment of the reader what degree of credit is due to Knox, and Buchanan, who ascribe the Queen's motive to love: the facts, which are stated in the record, evince that the Queen's motive was *political*, and not *amatory*: and, we must always remember, that they were both married, and that Bothwell was then engaged, with Murray, and his faction, as one of the conspirators against the life of Darnley. Under such circumstan-

^u For those two new facts, we are indebted to the Treasurer's books, who charges the Queen, for the express messenger, who was sent with a *mass of papers*, love-letters, no doubt, and with money, for the said victual, as love, without something to live on, soon evaporates, in mutual revilement. It appears not, says Robertson, ridiculously, that the Queen was attended thither, by any considerable train: but, what train could there be, when the purpose was to return, on the same day, to Jedburgh? Yet, is there evidence, in the records, that the Queen granted a charter, at Hermitage-castle, on the said 16th of October, 1566, Buchanan's depth of winter, which will be ever consecrated to love, in the annals of gallantry.

ces, calumny may find motives of love, while charity must turn away, from the impure suggestions of Buchanan.

But, as Bothwell was never, in any danger, from the wound, in his hand, he appeared, at Jedburgh, in the Privy Council, on the 25th of October : and, on the 28th Darnley came, from Glasgow, to visit the convalescent Queen ; with whom he only remained a single day ; being unable to exist, with Murray, Maitland, and the Queen's other ministers, for any endurance. †

Meantime, the nobles, and other officers of state, who attended the Ayre, at Jedburgh, held a convention, in which it was resolved, that they should remain together, in case of the demise of the Crown, for preserving the government : while the Queen's son was, scarcely, five months old ; while the heir presumptive of the sceptre, was living in banishment : while Darnley, and his father, Lennox, had not a single friend, in the nation : and, in such a state of circumstances, it is apparent, that Murray, who had no competitor, while he had no right, must neces-

† The King, says Robertson, came from Stirling [Glasgow] on the 5th of November : but, he met with such a cold reception, as did not encourage him to make any long stay. [*Hist.* i. 390.] Such, then, are the mistakes, and misrepresentations of Robertson !

sarily have been appointed viceroy, with more than regal power.

The court of Ayre sat, at Jedburgh, from the 9th of October, till the 8th of November, 1566. After lingering a day, or two more, on *Tweed-side*, which is so celebrated in song, the Queen set out, on a progress, along that charming river, to the neighbourhood of Berwick, followed, by the country, amounting to 600 horsemen, as we know, from secretary Maitland's letter, and accompanied by Bothwell, as high sheriff of the several shires, through which the Queen was to return, from performing those official duties. And, yet, if we might believe Buchanan, after such detections of his falsehood, we ought to suppose that the Queen, and Bothwell, took a sociable jaunt together, unaccompanied, by any of her court, or of the country, along the Tweed to Berwick ; thence along the Forth to Dunbar ;^w and thence to Craigmillar-

^w The Privy Council Register shows, that there were several Privy Councils, held, at Dunbar, wherein various points of publick business were done ; and whence the Queen wrote to Elizabeth. Bothwell, no doubt, made a considerable figure, on this journey, as high sheriff : but, he was allowed some additional consideration ; being now one of Murray's conspiracy : with such appearances the vulgar was deluded ; and the calumniators of Mary were thus enabled to delude more.

castle, where they are made to arrive together, on the 20th of November. Robertson seems to have been ashamed of such barefaced falsehood, of making the Queen, and Bothwell, travel alone, from Kelso, to Craigmillar, while they were attended by the court, and by the country. But, neither Buchanan, nor Robertson, seems to have been aware, that Bothwell, as early as the 1st of October, certainly, before he set out, for Liddesdale, had been gained by Murray, to the concerted plan, which had decided the fate of Darnley, and the misfortunes of the Queen: so that it was not only untrue, as a point of history, but even ridiculous, in the formation of a farce, to make the Queen, who had a husband, fall in love with a conspirator, who was also married; and who, instead of returning her approaches of affection, had a very different part assigned him, which, if he acted well, was to be rewarded, by the Queen's marriage, whether she were willing, or not.

The falsifier, after thus making both to return alone to Craigmillar, goes a step further, in his course of falsification: he makes the Queen, and Bothwell "to reason upon the divorce, betwixt the Queen, and King;" to make them reason upon a divorce, which the falsifier knew the Queen had rejected, when actually offered to her, by her ministers: this

was foolish in Buchanan, as a dramatist. It is, however, an historical fact, which is as certain, as it is important, that there was, then, and there, a formal offer of a divorce to the Queen, by Murray, and Maitland, if she would give her consent; but, it is equally true, and much more important, that the Queen firmly resisted this proposal, from Murray, and Maitland, though they were supported, by Bothwell, which, as it was insidious, would have certainly ended, in the death of Darnley, and her own ruin. The historical fact evinces the deliberate falsehood of Buchanan.* But, what shall we say to the complete silence of Robertson, with regard to those proceedings, at Craigmillar, which are some of the most interesting, in the Scottish history: he was too discerning not to see, that the facts, which occurred there, of a proposed divorce, between the Queen, and King; of her firm refusal of such a divorce; as it might stain her honour, and injure her issue; had been quite inconsistent with the historian's theory of making the Queen fall in love with Bothwell, who was engaged in a conspiracy, that had for its real end both the King, and

* See Goodal's *Appendix*, vol. ii. No. cxxvii, and No. cxxviii. The very falsehood of Buchanan supports the fact, as stated in the two documents, just quoted. And see, also, the same *Appendix*, No. cxxxix.

Queen's ruin. His theory is obviously, as absurd, as his passing in silence such an important transaction, was, plainly, disingenuous.¹

Buchanan took a yet higher flight into the regions of calumny, where Robertson did not disdain to follow him. The calumniator sent Darnley, from Stirling to Glasgow, at the end of December, after those important proceedings, at Craigmillar; and caused him to be poisoned, by the same wife, who refused to be divorced from him; and who now would not allow a physician to attend upon her dying spouse. Remark how a plain story shall convict Buchanan of falsehood, and Robertson of ignorance: The earl of Bedford, who represented Elizabeth, at the baptism of Mary's son, on his return home, left Edinburgh, on the 6th of January 1566-7, and wrote to secretary Cecil, from Berwick, on the 9th, that Darnley lay sick of *the small pox*, at Glasgow; and that *the queen had sent her own physician to attend him.*² Bucha-

¹ The word *Craigmillar* is not in the copious Index to Robertson's *History*, the 11th edition.

² Bedford's letter to Cecil is in the Paper Office. Drury, the marshal of Berwick, soon after wrote to Cecil, "that the *small pox* beginneth to spread, from Glasgow; and that he heard the Queen intended to bring Darnley to Edinburgh, as soon as he should be able to stand the cold." This dispatch is, also, in the Paper Office. Birrel, who lived

nan knew, that Darnley had *the small pox*, but, thought fit to say, that he was poisoned, for the odious purpose of calumniating the Queen : The villain knew, that the Queen had sent her own physician, to attend upon her husband ; but chose to say she would not allow any physicians to attend upon her husband. Let us now hear Robertson : “ Immediately upon the King’s leaving Stirling, *and before he could reach Glasgow*, he was seized with a dangerous distemper.—It is impossible, amidst the contradictions of *historians*, to decide, with certainty, concerning its nature, or its cause. Mary’s neglect of the King, on this occasion, was equal to that, with which he had treated her, during her illness, at Jedburgh. She no longer felt that warmth of conjugal affection, which prompts to sympathy, and delights in all those tender offices, which sooth, and alleviate sickness, and pain. At this juncture, she did not even put on the appearance of this passion. Notwithstanding the King’s danger, she amused herself with excursions to different parts of

about the time, says, in his *Diary*, on the 13th of January 1566-7, “ King Henry was then lying sick, in Glasgow, of the *small pox* ; but, *some said, he had gotten poison.*” This, then, is the historical fact : Darnley had *the small pox* ; but, the calumniators of Scotland said, *he had gotten poison.* Cousin, and Blackwood, two contemporary writers, stated the fact : but, they were disregarded.

the country, and suffered near a month to elapse before she visited him at Glasgow.”^a Can ignorance, and calumny, go beyond such misrepresentations! The preliminary assertion, that Darnley was seized with a dangerous disorder, *before he could reach Glasgow*, is quite inconsistent with *the fact*; the *small pox* raged, in Glasgow; but, existed not, in Stirling. His subsequent reflections are altogether irreconcilable to his sympathies, as a husband, and a father: the Queen had an infant, the hope of the nation, and her own, to take care of: and any personal intercourse with Darnley might have proved fatal to their son: but, such obvious reflections did not enter into the prejudiced mind of the historian, who wished to please, rather than instruct.

It may now be proper, perhaps, to enquire into some other instances of the want of knowledge, as well as the want of precision of the historian, which are injurious to the Queen.

About this time [when she was to retire into Edinburgh-castle, for her *accouchement*] a new favourite, says the historian, grew into great credit with the Queen; and soon gained an ascendant over her heart, which encouraged his enterprising genius, to form designs, that proved fatal to himself, and the occasion of all Mary’s subsequent misfortunes.^b Robertson, as a mar-

^a *Hist.* i, 405-6.

^b Robertson’s *History*, i, 380-5.

ried man, ought to have known, that the time, which he has chosen, for the commencement of this affair of affection, when the Queen was about to be *confined*, was the least congenial to the intrigues of love. The assertion of the historian, which would require the strongest proof, has none ; and nothing can be more inconsistent, with the whole facts, in the State papers. During the Queen's residence in the Castle, there were no other lodgers there, but Darnley, Murray, and Argyle : Huntley, the chancellor, and Bothwell, the admiral, applied for leave, to lodge within the same Castle ; but, were flatly refused :^c and, by whose influence ? The answer must be, by Murray's influence, who domineered there ; and had advised the Queen's residence in the fortlet, in order, that he might be in possession of it, in case of the expected demise of the Crown. Bothwell was,

^c The above important fact was stated, by Randolph to Cecil, from Berwick. Lennox, and Darnley beheld, with indifference, the expected event : not so, Cecil and Randolph, Murray and Argyle, who all knew, that lying-in women, are subject to many accidents : and Randolph was ordered, to remain, at Berwick ; to wait the event, in aid of the design of Murray, to seize the government, in case of a demise of the Crown : and Murray had an overpowering faction, and Argyle a great force, ready to support such a project, as events might arise.

soon after, sent to the Borders ; on the pretence of seeing that Morton did not enter the kingdom, on so critical an occasion : but, by whose advice was he sent out of the way ? The answer must be, by Murray's : It is apparent, then, that it was Murray, who had the influence over the queen, and not Bothwell. Mary, by bringing a perfect child, without any accident, disappointed Elizabeth's envy, and Cecil's artifices, Murray's hopes, and Argyle's subserviency.

When Mary's *month* was expired, on the 19th of July, she did not require much persuasion of her friends, or physicians, to make a jaunt to Alloa-house, along the Forth ; as she had no wheel-carriage:^d thither she went, accompanied, by the earl of Mar, the owner of the house, by Bothwell, the lord high admiral, and by Murray, the Queen's prime confident, who like a man of the world, and a minister, seldom left her : not so, Darnley, her husband, who ought to have “ grappled her to his bosom, with “ hooks of steel ;” he would not go in the same

^d There is a letter, in the Paper Office, from Randolph to Cecil ; saying that, the Queen had *walked out*, a mile, beyond the Castle, during her confinement there. This fact evinces, that she had no wheeled carriage. The first wheeled-carriage, which was seen, in Scotland, was a *chariot*, which the lady Margaret brought with her, when she came from Windsor, to marry James IV. This chariot remained, at

ship with the Queen, and her minister, and attendants : he would go to Alloa, by land : but, who induced him, not to accompany the Queen, on this excursion, which had been recommended, for her health ? His own frivolous folly, which forbade him to look Murray, in the face : and, when he arrived, at Alloa, the French am-

Methven-castle. After she died, about the spring-time of 1540-1, the governor had it brought to Edinburgh, and repaired in March 1542-3. The following charges, in the Treasurer's books, apply, curiously, to this enquiry :

March 12th 1542-3, Paid to John Par, the keeper
of the mulettis, for four girthis, and twa iron
pynnis furnisheit by him to *the chariot*, brought
furth of Methvin - - - £0 4 0

Item delivered to William Fraser, sadler, to mend
the said *litter* with, an elne of black velvet,
price 56 ; ane elne strype velvet price 14 ; and
twa elnes canvas, price 3¹/₄ - 3 13 4

Item deliverit thereto three elnes black frenzies of
silk - - - 0 13 0

Item, given to Thomas Lindsey, for mending of
the same, and for three bandes to the futestule 0 12 0

April 1549 To Frazer, the sadler, for an *chariot* of
my lord governor, to be mendit, and coveret
with ledder, and given him to buy ledder 5 12 6

Item to him, to furnish graith to the said chariot 1 2 6

This *chariot*, or *litter*, was, probably, made use of, to bring Darnley, from Glasgow, after he had had the small pox.

bassador, saith Robertson, absurdly, did prevail on the King and Queen to pass two nights together, as if to do so, required the influence of a French ambassador. Whatever there may be, in this unnatural conduct of Darnley, certain it is, that Murray never lost sight of his own interest: he here procured the Queen's pardon, for some of his faction, who had been engaged, in Rizzio's assassination: he particularly, induced the Queen, to see secretary Maitland, who, as the contriver of the plot, was obliged to abscond, for a time: and, Murray carried this point, for Maitland, after a personal altercation, with Bothwell, in the Queen's presence, when Bothwell was obliged to give way to the superior influence of Murray, in the Queen's councils, and conduct: from all those facts, we may clearly perceive how little cause Robertson had, for saying, "all this while Bothwell was the Queen's prime confident."^e

^e *Hist.* i, 385. It was, in respect to that jaunt to Alloa-house, by a little voyage along the Forth, that Buchanan, with his peculiar audacity of falsehood, said, that the Queen had gone to Alloa, with the pirates; that is, Bothwell, the lord high admiral of Scotland, provided the vessel, and seamen, which were to carry the Queen to Alloa; and, the *lord high admiral, and the sailors, are Buchanan's pirates*: we thus perceive, how a writer of genius may debase his falsehood, and calumny, into nonsense, and absurdity.

Robertson will, perhaps, be more fortunate, in his next calumny of this injured Queen. "A few days after the baptism of the prince," says the historian, "Morton and all the other conspirators against Rizzio, [and the Queen] obtained their pardon, and leave to return into Scotland:" [except those, who were not allowed to return.] Mary, who had hitherto continued inexorable to every entreaty, in their behalf, yielded at last *to the solicitations of Bothwell.*^f We have now seen, to what influence it was, that the Scottish Queen granted Morton's pardon. If Robertson's eyes had not been clouded by prejudice, he might have perceived Queen Elizabeth's claim to the sole ho-

^f *Ib.* 402: But there is another instructive letter, from Bedford to Cecil, dated the 30th of December 1566, from Halyards, in Fife, to which he had been invited, by Murray; giving the English secretary notice of *Morton's pardon*; and informing Cecil; "that he, [Bedford] had exerted himself, with Murray, Athole, and other lords, and with earl Bothwell; and if the whole had not concurred, the pardon could not have been obtained." [This important letter is in the Paper Office.] And why did Bothwell *thus concur*, in obtaining Morton's pardon, since they had always opposed each other? The answer must be, that Bothwell was now acting, in a concert of conspirators, for the death of Darnley, and expected the aid of Morton, in this nefarious purpose; nor, was Bothwell disappointed.

nour of obtaining Morton's pardon, whom she had so long protected.^s

One of the great artifices of Robertson, throughout a dozen pages of calumnious declamation, is, to make the Queen, personally, answerable, for the administration of Murray's faction : but, she was completely fettered, by their overpowering influence. And, it was one of the disgusts, or rather motives of Darnley, that she would not drive, from her councils, those nobles, and officers, who had been concerned in the assassination of Rizzio ; though Darnley, and his father, were two of the principal conspirators. But, puerile as Darnley was, he did not feel the influence of the spell, which bound her in a magical circle, whence she could not escape : Murray, and his faction, and his officers of state, completely overpowered

^s In Elizabeth's letter to her agent Throkmorton of the 27 July 1567 : " The Earl of Morton," says she, " had " refuge in our realm, when we might have delivered him to " death ; and he himself was restored to his pardon, for " gratifying us, upon instance made, by our order, at the " Earl of Bedford's being with the Queen." [Keith, 429.] This shows, that Bedford acted, by her order, and Cecil's wish, for Morton's pardon : Was this pardon of Morton obtained, then, by Bothwell's influence ? The answer must be, that it was obtained, by a general concert, with Elizabeth at the head of it : Robertson's assertion, then, was unfounded.

her efforts, when she could not move a step, without perceiving, that Elizabeth, and Cecil, thwarted her endeavours, while they supported Murray's efforts. But, that part of Robertson's history, concerning the influence of Bothwell over the Queen's spirit, is written upon assumptions, so fallacious, and upon authorities, so absurd, that much of his history, to be rectified, ought to be new-written.^h

In this strain of idle writing, from theory, rather than from proofs, Robertson goes on to talk of the Queen's employing all her art to regain Darnley's confidence; and then to induce him to remove to Edinburgh.ⁱ But, the fact

^h What he, and Laing, say, untruly, of the vast grants, and various gratuities, of the Queen to Bothwell, whoever wishes to see, distinctly, what he enjoyed, from his fathers, and what he acquired himself, must consider the *Appendix* to the *Memoirs* of Bothwell, No. 2.

ⁱ *Hist.* i. 405. Now; it is a fact, which cannot be doubted, that *before* the Queen had resolved to visit the King, at Glasgow, with the kindly purpose of bringing him to Edinburgh, as soon as he was able to travel, according to the opinion of physicians, they were reconciled. For the above fact, see the *Appendix* to the *Memoirs* of Darnley, No. vii. (2) If it be *true*, that the King, and Queen, were reconciled to each other, at that epoch, then the two letters, which Robertson quotes very confidently, as written by the Queen, from Glasgow, must, necessarily, be false. (3) If it be true, that during several months, before that epoch, Bothwell had been

of her being reconciled to Darnley, and he to the Queen, before she went to Glasgow, disproves the historian's conceipt : and, the falsehood of this assertion may be inferred, from the information given, by Drury to Cecil, on the 23d of January 1566-7, of the Queen's purpose to bring Darnley to Edinburgh, as soon as he could bear the cold air : for, this proves, that the Queen's purpose was avowed, and without

gained, by Murray's faction, to the conspiracy, for the death of Darnley ; it must be false, that the Queen wrote amatory letters to that conspirator, against her husband's life. (4.) If it be true, that Bothwell, and secretary Maitland, another of the conspirators against Darnley's life, went together to Whittingham, where Morton then was, about three weeks before the assassination of Darnley ; to concert with Morton, the ways, and means, of taking the life of Darnley ; then, must it be false, that the Queen would write such abominable letters to such a conspirator. (5.) If it be true, that Morton required of Bothwell, and Maitland, some writing, under the Queen's hand, testifying that, she approved of her husband's murder ; and Bothwell could not show Morton any such writing, under the Queen's hand ; then must the letters, which were quoted, by Robertson, be forgeries. (6.) The records of Scotland evince, that the Queen was, at Edinburgh, at the very time, that she is said to have written the said letters, from Glasgow. (7.) If it be true, as hath been shown, that Robertson's theory of Bothwell's influence over the Queen, was untrue ; then is the historian's theory, that the Queen wrote letters to Bothwell, from Glasgow, in January 1566-7, equally untrue.

artifice, or dissimulation. Without knowing, that Darnley, undoubtedly, was taken with the *small pox*, on his entering Glasgow: without knowing, that the Queen, as soon as she heard of his being so taken ill, had sent her own physician, to attend upon her husband, while she had an infant to care for; then did the historian write of the whole transaction, upon grounds, which were quite unfounded.^k

The place, which was prepared, for the King's reception, in Kirk-a-Field, adds the historian, from its solitude, was extremely proper, for the commission of that crime, with a view to which, it seemed manifestly to have been chosen.^l Robertson continues to write, we see,

^k Not only Darnley, the physician, and Mary, but every old woman, in Glasgow, knew, that the King had then, and there, *the small pox*: Now; the forger of those quoted letters makes the Queen write thus to Bothwell: "He declared
"unto me his *seiknes*, and that he would *make no testament*,
"but only leave all things to me; and that I was *the cause*
"of his *malady*; because of the regret, that he had, that I
"was so strange unto him." [Goodall, ii, 5, 6.] He thus talked of his testament, when he was almost well; he talked of his sickness, as being of the mind, when it was of the body: and, the whole being inconsistent with *the fact*, this circumstance shows the letter to be a forgery.

^l *Hist.* i, 411. Yes; yet, if the purpose had been, not to save, but to destroy Darnley, would not the *Doctor's pill*, at Glasgow, have obtained the end, much more easily, than the

from previous prejudice, rather than from subsequent enquiry : he did not know, that Darnley had the *small-pox* ; the writer did not know, that the King had been, early, placed in the charge of the queen's physician ; and that the house, and other preparations, for the King's reception, must have been made, under the physician's directions ; and of course, that it was fitted up more as *an infirmary*, than a palace.^m The historian, then, taking for granted what he ought to have proved, would involve the physician as well as the Queen, in this guilty preparation. As the historian knew not, it seems, that secretary Maitland was one of the conspirators ; that the secretary, and Bothwell, had, some days before, met Morton, to concert the murder ; so was the historian ignorant, that the secretary, and Bothwell, would be as well informed, as to the preparations, for the King's reception, in Kirk-a-field, as the Queen, and the physician ; and would be equally active, in making their arrangements, for the fatal moment.ⁿ In this

transactions, at Kirk-a-field ? The residence of the king was plainly pointed out, by the physician, from a consideration, chiefly, of the Queen's infant.

^m From the evidence of Nelson, one of the King's servants, who was examined before the Privy Council of England, we know, that the house was fitted up, " with *vats for bathing*, and other necessities of an infirmary." *Goodall*, ii. 244.

ⁿ The *fact*, which I will, immediately, prove, beyond a

infirmity, was Darnley murdered ; though the house, wherein he lay, was not blown up, as the historian says ; but, the adjoining house was blown up, by gunpowder, for the obvious purpose of concealing the odious deed, “ in the “ mystery of ill opinions.” “ The cruel circumstances of his murder,” continues the historian “ and the shameless remissness, in neglecting to avenge it, have made his name to “ be remembered with regret.”^o Yet, were there no cruel circumstances attending the murder ; nor, was there any remissness, in neglecting to avenge it : Darnley was, obviously, strangled, and there were, plainly, no appearances of violence on his body ; now, if the historian had only opened his eyes, he might have seen, in Nelson’s evidence, which has been already quoted, that there was an examination at the Privy Council of Nelson himself, and of other

doubt, that Morton, Maitland, and Bothwell, were the real murderers of Darnley, blasts for ever, the fine-spun theories of Robertson.

^o *Hist.* i, 412. The *remissness*, whatever it were, strikes at Murray, who remained, in the management of affairs, till the 9th of April, two months after the murder, and Maitland who did the whole practical business of the state : that Bothwell was protected, by Murray’s faction, is quite certain : and of course, not by the Queen, who surely had no concern, in the conspiracy.

persons, who were supposed to know the whole circumstances of the shocking scene:^p and, two days after, as the historian adds, a proclamation was issued, in the Queen's name; offering £2000. to any one, who would discover the *deed doers*. The facts, then, do not warrant the historian's narrative, which talks of *cruel circumstances*, and of *shameful remissness*; But, as the design of Robertson seems to have been, to criminate, as well as calumniate the Queen, he does not notice the artless, and simple, letter, which she wrote to her ambassador at, Paris, on the day after the murder.^q The historian, after raising suspicions, by artifice, goes on to tell, "that Bothwell, and the Queen, were suspected of the murder:"^r But, he forgets to notice what Keith had shown him, that Murray was, also, suspected, from much

^p See Nelson's evidence, in *Goodall*; and the Queen's letter, which is quoted below, to the same point.

^q See it in Keith's *Preface*, viii.

^r *Hist.* i. 412: And, on the 21st of March 1566-7, Cecil wrote to the English ambassador, at Paris, for the information of all Europe, "the common fame, in Scotland, continueth upon the Earl of Bothwell, to be the principal murderer of the King; and the Queen's name is not well spoken of." [*Cabala*, 126.] Here, commenced the calumny of Cecil, which, by means of the English ambassador at Paris, had a wide range.

stronger circumstances, than the historian's calumnious reflections on the Queen.*

The next question of importance, certainly, is, who were the guilty actors of that atrocious murder? The answer must, clearly, be, those persons, who were convicted, by the laws of their country, were the guilty men; and the records are the best evidences of their convictions.

I will now proceed, to prove this important conclusion of the guilt of Maitland and Bothwell, Morton and Murray, in a few distinct propositions.

I. Michaelmas 1566 is the epoch of the conspiracy of nobles, which ended in the assassination of Darnley. It was then, that the King came to Edinburgh, with his project of emigration, in his head; and could, scarcely, be persuaded, by the Queen, his wife, to enter the palace; because Murray, Maitland, and other ministers, were within it. The Queen, after trying, in vain, to induce Darnley to open himself to her, laid his father's letter, commu-

* Keith, 365, Wherein it is said, "the Earls of Bothwell, "Morton, and Murray, are reported, to have been, in the "knowledge of the murder." The guilt of the three nobles can easily be made out; but, as the Queen was *innocent*, she cannot be proved *guilty*, however much the artifices of Cecil, formerly, and of Robertson lately, may have effected, by raising prejudices, and spreading calumnies.

nicating his son's design of emigration, before the Privy Council. He was urged both by the Queen, and the privy counsellors, to disclose the cause of his discontent: but, he withdrew; saying that he had no ground at all, for his design of leaving the kingdom.^t Now, it was, that Murray, and Maitland, resolved, to free themselves, and the kingdom, from the wretched misconduct, and absurd irascibility of Darnley. With a view to this, Murray conciliated Bothwell, with whom he had been at variance, and drew him into his concert against Darnley, who hated Bothwell.^u Yet, the plot was not fully agreed on, and its details adjusted, till the Queen, at the end of November, positively, refused to be divorced from her husband, in Craigmillar castle, when she was now included, probably, in the scope of their conspiracy.^x

^t The best account of that transaction is to be found, in Le Croc's letter, and in the letter from the Privy Council, to the Queen-mother of France, in *Keith*, 346-7; and in Robert Melvill's letter, at page 350-1.

^u *Goodall*, ii. 322.

^x Their original purpose was communicated to Morton, by Maitland, as well as every subsequent step, in the progress of the conspiracy: But, this he could not have done, without the knowledge, and suggestion of Murray, who had the chief direction; owing to his superiority, and his faction. See *Goodall*, ii. 317-21. It was at the proposal of the divorce, by Maitland, in concurrence with Morton, that Bothwell

II. It is apparent, then, that there was a conspiracy against Darnley; and that this conspiracy was strengthened, by writings, according to the practice of that immoral age. But, I will proceed a step further, in developing this abominable plot. Morton, and his associates, were, as we have seen, pardoned, at Christmas

showed himself, as a conspirator, with Murray. See also, the declaration of the convention of prelates, and nobles, in September 1568. *Ib.* 352. It seems to be certain, from Ormiston's declaration, in Arnot's *Crim. Trials*, 383-8, that the noble conspirators gave Bothwell a writing, or bond, which was signed by them; engaging to save him harmless, for the part, he might act, in the murder of Darnley: and which was said to be drawn, by Sir James Balfour. In the Paper Office, Bund. P. 20, T. 29, it is recorded, "that upon the prevalence of the Earl of Lennox, and the threats of procuring, from Sir James Balfour, at Paris, *the deed of contract, for the murder of Darnley*, which was signed by Morton, who was at that time threatened with prosecution, for that deed; it was resolved, by Elizabeth, in April 1580, to send Robert Bowes to Scotland." Archibald Douglas, the relation, and agent of Morton, in his letter to the Queen, dated in April 1584, gives an account of the bond, and league, formed against Darnley, by Murray, Athole, Argyle, and secretary Maitland, which league, Morton, and his associates, joined, before they obtained their pardons, for Rizzio's murder; and Douglas adds, that Darnley's murder was executed, at the command of such of the nobility, as had subscribed the bond, for that effect. Douglas's letter is in Robertson's *Hist.* ii. 530; and see *Goodall*, i. 282-3.

1566, at the epoch of James's baptism: Yet, on the 10th of the subsequent January, Morton still remained, in England, as Sir William Drury, the Marshal of Berwick, informed Secretary Cecil: But, Drury acquainted Cecil, by his letter of the 23d of January 1566-7, that Morton, having left England, had arrived at Whittingham, where he had been visited, by Earl Bothwell, and Secretary Maitland. From the dates of Drury's letters, we may, easily, collect, that this memorable visit to Whittingham, near the Lamermoor hills, took place about the 20th of January. Archibald Douglas, in his said letter, speaks also, of the above-mentioned visit of Bothwell, and Maitland, to Morton, with whom he was then present. Morton, himself, in his dying confession, acknowledges, that Bothwell, and Maitland did visit him, at Whittingham, on his return from England: and he goes on, to confess, that the object of their visit was, to concert with him the murder of Darnley.⁷ Archibald Douglas, also, avows, in his letter, above-mentioned, that such was the true object of that visit of Bothwell, and Maitland. It ought to be remembered, that Morton, and

⁷ See Morton's Confession, in Bannatyne's *Journal*. There is a copy of this confession, in the British Museum; but, it is somewhat interpolated, by a modern hand.

Bothwell, had always been enemies ; but, as Bothwell had concurred, with more influential persons, than himself, in soliciting Morton's pardon, he conceived he might ask Morton's concurrence, in the conspiracy, for the death of Darnley ; as he had been apprized of the plot, by Maitland, at the desire of Murray. When Morton, and Maitland, afterwards fell out, they charged one another, like other rogues, with their mutual participation, in the death of Darnley ; as we know, from their letters in Bannatyne's *Journal*. Now ; here is satisfactory evidence of a conspiracy of nobles, for the King's murder : And, the meeting of three persons, to concert the commission of a crime, is the legal definition of a conspiracy.

III. But, the progress of the plot, and the nature of the evidence, enable us, to advance another step, in tracing the guilt of *those three conspirators* to conviction, and to punishment, the true consummation of such a plot. The Parliament of December 1567 attainted Earl Bothwell, for the murder, and parricide, by him done, and committed, on the person of Henry, the late King :^z and he had been already expelled, and died a wretched fugitive, in Denmark. Maitland, the contriver of the conspiracy, and

^z Sir Lewis Steuart's MS. collections ; *Acta Parl.* iii. 5-10.

the most guilty, was attainted, by the Parliament of 1571, of the same treason;^a and died, by poison, in 1573, from whatever hand.^b Morton, the third conspirator, was convicted, in 1581, by a jury of his country, for the same treason; was immediately beheaded, on the block of shame,^c lay, for some time, under a

^a Sir Lewis Steuart has gathered, from the Record, into his MS. collections, under the year 1571, the conviction of William Maitland, the younger, “for airt and part of the “treason, conspiracy, and consultation, in the treason of the “King’s murder.” *Acta Parl.* iii. 58-9: Bannatyne’s *Journal*, 154; Spottiswoode’s *Hist.* 253. In November 1579, an Act of Parliament was made; rendering the children both lawful, and natural, of Sir William Maitland, sometime younger of Lethington, and several others, who had been convicted of the murder of the King’s father, incapable of enjoying, or claiming, any lands, or possessions, in Scotland. *Acta Parl.* iii. 137.

^b Spottiswoode’s *Hist.* 271-2: Kylligrew wrote to Cecil, from Edinburgh, on the 12th of June 1573. “Nothing has “occurred, here, of late, but Lethington’s death, not without suspicion of poison.” This celebrated statesman lay long unburied, notwithstanding the solicitation of his friends. There remains a moving letter, from Maitland’s disconsolate widow, to Cecil; praying for leave to bury her husband, and that she might enjoy the estates, that had been settled on her long before. To this state of degradation was Scotland reduced, by Murray, and his faction!

^c Arnot’s *Crim. Trials*; Sir Lewis Steuart’s *MS. Collections*.

beggarly cloak;^d and, his conviction was confirmed, in November 1581, by Parliament.^e We have now seen, that the three conspirators, who met at Whittingham, who were Murray's agents, and acted, for his behoof, were all attainted, by Parliament, for the King's murder. Who, then, can now doubt, whether the Queen's husband, was murdered, by a conspiracy of nobles? since the fact is certain, from the evidence of record. Was the Queen one of the conspirators? No: she was disgraced, imprisoned, and dethroned, by the same conspirators, who married her to Bothwell, for the very purpose, of disgracing, and dethroning her. Was Murray, also, guilty of this shocking crime? Yes: he was, at the time, all-powerful, in Scotland; and such a conspiracy could not have existed, by such men, without his assent. We have seen him, at Michaelmas 1566, gaining Bothwell to his concert, who was, merely, the instrument of the conspiracy: We have seen Murray, in Craigmillar-castle, in November following, assenting to the proposal of divorcing the Queen from Darnley, with a view to ulterior measures against the King. His subsequent mystery, and previous measures, evince his participation in the conspiracy: His con-

^d Robertson, 87.^e *Acta Parl.* lii. 227.

firming the Queen's dethronement, and accepting the regency, are demonstrations of his guilt: He thus enjoyed all the benefits of the conspiracy, when he was placed in the vice-regal chair: His dragging his sister, before Elizabeth, and charging her with the murder of her husband, knowing that the accusers were the assassins, plainly, evince his villainy, and his wickedness. Whatever the Scottish historians may relate, let us say, with Shakespeare,

“ Trust not those cunning waters of his eyes ;
For villainy is not, without such a rheum :
And he long traded in it, makes it seem
Like rivers of remorse, and innocence.”

The great end of that atrocious conspiracy, when the Queen, by the additional crimes of the same conspirators, was coerced to marry Bothwell, on the 24th of May 1567, was obtained. Though Bothwell, who was now to be made the scape-goat of the conspirators, had acquired the elevation of Duke of Orkney, though he had married the reigning Queen, he immediately felt, that he had lost his influence, in the state. The support of Murray's faction was now withdrawn from him ; and she, by her marriage, with Bothwell, lost her character, and her crown.

Three weeks had scarcely elapsed, from the

epoch of that marriage, when Morton, the murderer, who had, chiefly, promoted it, appeared, at the head of an armed force, to oppose his own act. His first avowed purpose, by proclamation, was, to free the Queen, from the domination of Bothwell. Had this been done, *before* the marriage, there had been, in the act, something like sense, and something like honourableness: But, to marry the Queen, on the 24th of May, merely to dissolve it, on the 11th of June, evinces an inconsistency, denotive of crime. The true motive of this base conspirator will soon appear. It was to dethrone the Queen, and to send her to Lochleven castle, a prisoner. The warrant, for her commitment, which was signed, by Morton, and five other nobles, still remains:^f But, it would not justify the sending of a prostitute to the watch-house. The Queen had governed, by means of Murray, and his faction; and they had nothing of misconduct, much less of crime, to lay to her charge.^g Such contradictions,

^f See it in Mr. Laing's *Dissertation*.

^g Yes; says Robertson, with his usual prejudice, "Mary's affection, for Bothwell, continued, as violent as ever." [*Hist.* i. 446.] And to prove this falsehood, a forged letter of the Queen to the conspirator, and scape-goat, was produced, which having done the work of a day, was heard of no more. The fact, that Murray's faction were the King's murderers;

merely, evince, that Morton, and Maitland, with their adherents, were, only, acting upon the principle of one conspiracy, after another: Their present object of conspiracy was, to crown the infant prince, in his mother's room, and to place Murray, in the vice-regal chair, the object of all his ambition, of his hypocrisy, of his crimes.

It was, probably, the inefficiency of the warrant of commitment, as well as the grossness of their charges, which induced the conspirators, to look for something more satisfactory to justify their guilty actions, after the King's murder. Five days, only, after the Queen's commitment, Morton, the murderer, asserted, that he had intercepted Dalglish, a servant of Bothwell, carrying a box, with love letters of the Queen's from Edinburgh castle to his master, in Dunbar castle.^h There is some evidence, that Bothwell had no writings of the Queen, a few days before

the fact, that the Queen was coerced to marry Bothwell, by the same faction, put an end to such prejudiced positions.

^h Edinburgh castle remained in possession of Lord Erskine till the 21st of March 1567, when Cockburn received the command, from him, by the Queen's order; Cockburn continued, in this command, till the 1st of June, if not longer, when Sir James Balfour succeeded him, in this trust: But, Bothwell had his own Castle of Chrichton, a few miles, from Edinburgh, where he kept his papers.

the murder, committed by Bothwell: But, we have no evidence, that she ever wrote any letters, at that time to Bothwell. As a conspirator, he did not court her love: as he was to have her, as his wife, from Murray's faction, as his reward, for killing her husband. Though Dalgleish was examined on the 26th of June, by Morton, and others, about the murder, not a question was asked him, about the box and letters. Was there ever any examination, about such a boxful of letters, important as they were? No. The mere assertion of such a miscreant, as Morton, is no proof, that he ever found such a boxful of letters: But, as neither Dalgleish, nor any other person, was ever examined, about the boxful of letters, this is evidence, that no such letters were ever found; though such letters may have been forged. When the supposititious letters were laid before the Privy Council on the 4th of December 1567, they appeared, as letters, *written, and subscribed*, by the Queen: When such supposititious letters were, a few days after, laid before the Parliament, they appeared as *written*, but *not signed*, by the Queen. Here, then, is proof of some fraud. And, this fraud evinces, that letters had been forged, but not found. The Queen, when such supposititious letters appeared in England, in the hands of her husband's assassins, asserted, that she had

never written such letters: And, her assertion against the asseverations of such miscreants, whose villainy is unquestionable, ought to be believed. Coupling all those circumstances together, it becomes quite clear, that such letters were never intercepted; and that this pretence was a mere afterthought, when the conspirators were hard pressed, for some justification of themselves, and for some show of charges against the Queen.

The King's murderers continued to play with this notorious interception, by a notorious falsifier, from June 1567 till December following. But, there was meantime, no publication of the contents of the box; they did not, in that period, avow what they had discovered; they pretended, indeed, that they had found ample proofs against the Queen; yet, they did not explain the nature of their secret. The murderers, with the useful calumny of the clergy, raised a very loud outcry against their sovereign, whom they had injured, and therefore hated; they charged her with disgraceful crimes, which they never proved; they threatened her life: And, under these calumnies, accusations, and threats, they compelled her, while a captive, in Lochleven-castle, to resign her sovereignty to her infant son, and her government to her bastard brother, who had formed so many

conspiracies, for obtaining this constant object of his guilty life.

The new government, consisting, chiefly, of the king's assassins, convened a Privy Council, on the 4th of December 1567; to prepare measures, for a subsequent Parliament, in the same month. Upon view of those supposititious letters, without any examination, whether they had been found, or forged, the Privy Council resolved, that the Queen's dethronement was owing to the Queen's default: For, she had sent to Bothwell, one of the murderers, letters written, and *subscribed*, by her, containing much coarseness, but no proofs of murder, or knowledge of murder; and she had privately, and suddenly, married Bothwell: whereby, it was deemed certain, that she had assented to her husband's murder. We have just seen, however, positive proofs, that such letters must have been forged, but, certainly, not found. As to her marriage with Bothwell, which was not *private*, but public; let it always be remembered, that it had been an essential point, in the detail of the conspiracy, for the King's murder, that Bothwell should have the Queen's person, in reward, for his activity, as the conspirator's tool, in the King's murder; that Morton, and Maitland, two of the convicted murderers of the King, had obtained a writing,

called a Bond, from many prelates, and peers, declaring his innocence, and engaging to defend his marriage with the Queen. Emboldened, by the previous engagement of the conspirators, and still more, by this written declaration of the prelates, and peers, Bothwell arrested the Queen on the highway; carried her, forcibly, to the Castle of Dunbar; and there coerced her, to agree to marry him. Now; the Parliament of December 1567, which was called, by Murray, in which Morton, presided, as Chancellor; and in which Maitland took the direction, attainted Bothwell of treason; when three of the points, charged upon him, as traitorous, were, that he had arrested the Queen's person; that he had carried her, forcibly, to Dunbar-castle; that he had, there, *coerced her to marry him.*¹ The Parliament thus contradicted the resolves of the Privy Council: Those three facts, which were found, by Parliament, nullify the resolutions of the Privy Council, being quite inconsistent with them: and the inference of the Privy Council, thus contradicted, by Parliament, that the Queen, previously, knew of her husband's murder; because she had, subsequently, married Bothwell, is foolish, and false: For, as the Parliament found the fact to be, that she had been *coerced* to marry him,

¹ *Acta Parl.* iii. 5-10.

while a prisoner, in Dunbar-castle : But, what guilt does any woman incur, who is overpowered, by a ruffian, whom she could not resist? As to implicating the Queen, by inference, in the murder of her husband, we must always remember, that Murray, and his faction, who now charged the Queen, were the real murderers of the King ; which the records demonstrate ; and of consequence, that she was innocent ; the attempt of the murderers, to cast the guilt, from themselves, upon innocence, must for ever be deemed the basest aggravation of the blackest of crimes.

Such, then, is the groundless result of the proceedings, in Murray's Privy Council, when attempting to justify the King's murderers, and to criminate the innoxious Queen. The assassins stand unjustified : And, the Queen was dethroned, by them, without a cause. Those endeavours to justify themselves, by the supposed default of the Queen, appears thus to have been one of the vilest acts of an abominable age.

Yet, were the proceedings of that Privy Council made the baseless foundation of an act, recognising the sovereignty of the Queen's son, as King, and Murray, as his regent ; justifying the perfidious proceedings of the late King's assassins against the Queen ; and legalizing her imprisonment, though it had been done, without a cause ;

but she was degraded, by calumny, criminated, by artifice, and overborne, by violence : While the King's assassins were justified ; because their crimes were concealed, under their own professions, were sheltered by popular delusion, and were defended by religious zeal.

By all these proceedings of the Parliament of December 1567, guilt was elevated, and innocence depressed. The Queen's imprisonment was legalized, her sovereignty was transferred to her son, and her sceptre was placed in the guilty hands of Regent Murray. In this state of matters, abominable as it was, the queen made her escape, from Lochleven-castle, on the 2d of May 1568. She immediately repaired to Hamilton, where she found many of her nobles, in arms, for her support. She hastened to decide, by force, her own, and her kingdom's fate : Whether right, or wrong, should prevail ; whether guilt, or innocence, should govern Scotland. The Queen's forces were defeated, at Langside, in Renfrewshire, on the 13th of May, eleven days after her escape. And she now thought herself obliged to seek for shelter, in England, which she entered, three days after her fate had been decided at Langside, when she was aged, little more than four-and-twenty. She soon found, that, amidst a choice of difficulties, she had chosen the worst. She was,

immediately, made sensible, that she could not retrace her imprudent step, in entering England, which had always, in peace, and in war, been hostile to her. The imprisoning of a neighbouring Queen, who came to ask an asylum, from rebellious violence, could not be defended, by any principle of any law, human, or divine, whatever the sophistry of Cecil might suggest. She was not long after drawn, by the dissimulation of Elizabeth, and the artifices of Cecil, into a labyrinth of enquiries, with regard to her own, and some of her nobles conduct, which had produced so many disastrous events, to her, and her people. Her credulous eyes did not perceive, that such enquiries could only end, in her immediate disgrace, and lasting captivity.^k

^k Sir Francis Knollys, the keeper of Mary's person, and the spy upon her actions, wrote to Secretary Cecil, from Bowton-castle, on the 20th of October, 1568: "All things considered, I see not how her majesty can, with honour, and safety, detain this queen,—*unless she shall be disgraced to the world.*" [Goodall, ii. 161.] Some other of Elizabeth's statesmen, wrote to Cecil, in similar terms. Hence, we may perceive, that the great object of Elizabeth's enquiries, with regard to the Scottish Queen, was, *to disgrace her to the world*: The measures, which were pursed, by Elizabeth, and Cecil, would evince this purpose, however base. [Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, 369-373. Hay's *Letter to Knox*. Goodall, ii. 371. Bannatyne's *Journal*, 24-9.]

Elizabeth's Commissioners, for those enquiries, Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, assembled, at York, in the following October, where they were met, by Murray, and the other Scottish Commissioners. Mary's Commissioners appeared, soon after. The Dean of York administered an oath to the several Commissioners, that they would act faithfully. This solemn ceremony was prescribed, in order to impose upon the credulity of a confiding world, the honourableness of the trust, and the impartiality, wherewith it would be conducted.¹ How they acted, in pursuance of their commission, and their oaths, facts must tell. They allowed Murray to send them, Maitland, Mac Gill, Buchanan, and Belnavis, four of the ablest, and artfullest men, in Scotland, not as Commissioners, but, as individuals, as they protested, who in private, and secret conference, showed them some *letters*. The result will prove, that the notorious letters, from Glasgow, were not equal to these, in coarseness, and in crimination.^m Yet, were such letters, so communi-

¹ See the oath, in Goodall, ii. 121. The Commissioners took God to witness that, in this enquiry, they would be honest, godly, just, and true.

^m Sadler left behind him a collection of *State Papers*, which were published, in 1809; and there were given, in vol. ii. 337, "*The special words* in the Queen of Scots's

cated, in *secret*, extracted, and described, and the extracts, and descriptions, sent to Elizabeth, for the information of her intellect, as well as the gratification of her hate. All this while, Mary, and her Commissioners, were ignorant of this *clandestine* transaction; and were preparing to enter upon a trial, that was thus, in a great measure, decided, already, against them, by perjury. The injustice, and knavery, of this proceeding are sufficiently apparent:ⁿ But, it is curious to remark, that when

letters, *written with her own hand* to Bothwell; declaring the *inordinate, and filthie love between her and him.*" Compare the genuine forgery, in Goodall, ii. 1-2, with Sadler's *fabricated forgery*, in his *St. Pap.* ii. 337-8: and it will appear, very distinctly, that there had been a re forgery of the Glasgow forgery!!

ⁿ See in Lodge's *Illustrations*, ii. p. 1-6, a very intelligent letter of the Earl of Sussex, one of those Commissioners, to Cecil, dated the 22d October 1568: "If the adverse party
"accuse the Queen," says he, "of the murder [of her
"husband] by producing of her letters, she will deny them;
"and accuse the most of them, of manifest consent to the
"murder, [which is] hardly to be denied; so as upon the
"tryal, on both sides, her proofs will, judicially, fall best
"out, as it is thought."

Thus far Sussex, who thus appears to have had a glimpse of the truth. Sussex went on to say to Cecil: "If Murray
"will produce such matter, as the Queen's majesty may, *by*
"virtue of her superiority over Scotland, find, judicially, the
"Scotish Queen guilty of the murder of her husband, and

Elizabeth's Serjeant Barham opened the prosecution against the Duke of Norfolk, for treason, he charged Norfolk, with *perjury*; inasmuch as, at York, he had taken an oath, to act fairly as a commissioner; and yet, had acted knavishly.^o

To suit her own purpose of detraction, Elizabeth advocated the enquiry of York to Westminster. New Commissioners were added to the old, by a fresh appointment, including Secretary Cecil. These new Commissioners now took the same oath of fidelity to the trust; in order to keep up a fair appearance to the eyes of France, and Spain. Facts must tell, whether the new Commissioners acted more honestly; or became, by artifice, equally perjured.

“ therewith detain her, in England, at the charges of Scotland, and allow the crowning of the young king, and regency of Murray.” Coupling this intimation of Elizabeth's *superiority* over Scotland, with the attempt of the English Commissioners, after the opening of the Commission, at York, to get the Scots Commissioners to admit the feudal superiority of England; it is sufficiently apparent, that the baseness of Cecil, and the abominableness of Elizabeth, had it in contemplation, to adjudge the Scottish Queen, as a subordinate, to be guilty of her husband's murder, upon the charge of the murderers themselves, supported, by their forgeries, and their perjuries!

^o See Barham's argument, in Sadler's *State Papers*, beforementioned.

The great object of Elizabeth, and Cecil, appears to have been, to obtain, by intrigue, from Murray, a formal accusation of the Scottish Queen's knowledge of her husband's murder.^p This accusation was now made, under the usual protestation of hypocrisy, that the Scottish Commissioners wished not, to criminate their Queen; though the same charge had been made by them, in the Privy Council of Scotland, on the 4th of December, 1567; repeated, by them, a few days after, before the Scottish Parliament; and again made by them, insidiously, at York. To the well-known letters, which Morton, the murderer, said he had intercepted, but which were, by Maitland, the conspirator, forged, were now added promises of marriage, by the Queen to Bothwell, love sonnets, a fabricated journal; in order to buttress the letters, which though formerly, in the Scottish language, were now exhibited, in French. And Morton, and Murray, with their coadjutors in the commission, and their associates in crime, now swore, that the whole were true; that the French letters were, undoubtedly, in the Queen's hand. The guilt of such oaths is sufficiently apparent: But, what shall we say of Elizabeth, and Cecil, who knew the letters to be forgeries? They

^p Goodall, ii. 203-6.

were only guilty of subornation of perjury.^a And, by the same management, the Earl of Lennox was now brought forward, to act his guilty part, in this nefarious scene.^r

Mary's Commissioners now recriminated against Murray, and his coadjutors, as guilty of the very crimes, which they had so often, and so falsely preferred against their mistress. They desired, at the same time, what was reasonable in itself, that since their Queen's accusers were admitted to Elizabeth's presence, she also, should be admitted to the same presence. And Mary's Commissioners added, that unless she were so admitted, to defend herself, and to charge the guilty; they would not proceed any further, in such an enquiry, which seemed to depart, from the candour of equal rights; and to approach to crimination.^s Cecil remarked, in-

^a Goodall, ii, 221; 230-1-235.

^r *Ib.* 208-9: There remains, in the Paper Office, a letter, from Walsingham, to Cecil, of the 20th of November 1568; intimating "that if for the discovery of the Queen of Scots's
" consent to the murder of her husband, there lack sufficient
" proofs, he is able, to discover certain [persons,] that
" should have been employed in the said murder, who are
" here to be produced." It seems probable, that this was the introduction of Lennox, with his witnesses.

^s Such were the proceedings of the 4th of December, 1568, at Hampton Court. *Ib.* 221. On the 9th of December, the Earl of Morton swore to his interception of the

deed, that the demand, to admit the Scottish Queen to Elizabeth's presence, was made; knowing that it would be denied: But, by that denial, the enquiry was denuded of its character of impartiality, if, indeed, any impartiality remained, after the secret proceeding, at York: Elizabeth, by her conduct, supposed the innocent to be guilty; and the guilty to be innocent. Historians, however, have asserted, that Mary seemed to shrink, from the charge against her, as if conscious of guilt; and appeared to recriminate, more from revenge, than from knowledge of their guilt, and consciousness of her own innocence:^t But, such historians found it more easy to scribble, than to enquire: They

letters; [*Ib.* 230.] but, what is the oath of a miscreant, and murderer, more than his word? Other evidence was given in, by Murray, and his associates in villainy. *Ib.* 229. A long list of various documents was, also, given in, by Murray, without establishing one point of the Queen's guilt; the real object being to calumniate her, and her friends. Goodall, ii. 87-88.

^t Even before the Queen was driven, from Scotland, she knew, that Morton, and Maitland, were concerned in her late husband's murder. Lord Scrope, and Sir Francis Knollys, Mary's keepers, wrote Cecil, from Carlisle, on the 29th of May 1568: "And, withal she affirmed, that both Maitland, " and Lord Morton, were assenting to the murder of her husband; as it could well be proved, although now they " would seem to prosecute the same." [Goodall, ii. 71.]

did not themselves know, what could be proved, on either side ; and they did not see what is so apparent, at present, that the whole enquiry, on the side of Cecil, and Elizabeth, was intended, merely, to obtain materials of defamation, for disgracing the Scottish Queen, in the eyes of France, and of Spain ; forgetting that they disgraced themselves, by their partiality, and their perjuries.

But, Mary was not a woman, who would shrink, from enquiry ; the Bishop of Ross was not an agent, who would be discouraged, by whatever difficulty ; and Lord Herries was not a noble, who would be pushed aside, by whatever danger. The Queen's Commissioners, by her directions, returned to Hampton Court, on the 24th of December 1568 ; and avowed their purpose, of laying the said crimes to the charge of Murray, and his associates ; to defend their mistress's innocence ; and to answer the calumnies, which were alleged against her :^u And, they desired, that they might have such writings, or copies thereof, as had been given in evidence against their sovereign. Elizabeth pretended to think this *very reasonable* ; and rejoiced, with invidious sympathy, that her good sister would, in that manner, defend her honour.^x An

^u Goodall, ii. 281.

^x *Ib.* 282 : The Bishop of Ross, and Lord Herries, now

attempt was however made, by Elizabeth, and her Commissioners, to browbeat the Bishop of Ross, and Lord Herries, in vain : They adhered to their instructed purpose of charging Murray, and his coadjutors, with the crime of murdering the Queen's husband : And, they again prayed, for copies of the documents, which had been given in against their mistress ; a request, which Elizabeth again declared to be very reasonable ; yet, was afraid, or ashamed, to grant.^y Elizabeth wished rather to end this enquiry, which had grown rather serious, by proposing to Mary a compromise, which had left her in disgrace, without being freed from thrall. No, said Mary, I am resolved to die, rather than resign my rights ; and the last word, which I shall utter, in my life, shall be that of a Queen of Scotland.^z She felt, Elizabeth's proposal of a compromise, while she refused to communicate Murray's documents, was only an additional wrong : While the allowing of Murray, and his associates, to depart for Scotland, with their box, and their forgeries, was an aggravation of Elizabeth's injuries, and dissimulation.^a The enquiry was now at an end,

gave in strong documents against Murray, and his associates.

Ib. 288-93.

^y Goodall, ii. 300-3.

^z *Ib.* ii. 301.

^a *Ib.* 309 : But, Murray did not leave London till the 24th of the same month : He had the loan, or rather gift of

though Mary's Commissioners continued to urge her claim as late, as the end of January, 1568-9, which Cecil, and Elizabeth prolonged, for the interest of Murray. Nothing, however, was decided, which answered completely, Elizabeth's original design of disgracing, by calumnies, the Queen, whom she envied, and hated. The English Commissioners, with Cecil, at their head, had, also, taken an oath, to act fairly; yet acted foully: and, thus brought themselves within the judgment of Serjeant Barham, that they were thereby guilty of perjury. Elizabeth was only bound by her honour; yet, she acted dishonourably; she was only guilty of subornation, by making the wretched murderers of the Scottish King, to swear, positively, to the truth of papers, which they knew to be forged; and which they had produced, to throw their own guilt upon the Scottish Queen.

During this long, but disgraceful enquiry, there had been so many papers given in, with answers, and replies, that common readers cannot easily comprehend what was affirmed, and

5,000*l.* to be received by him: His bond was dated, on the 18th of that month. *Ib.* 313. And, he had the whole expense of the commission to pay out of it. This was the price of Mary's calumnation.

what was proved. Even historians were bewildered, by the voluminousness of the documents, though, perhaps, still more, by their own prejudices. And it was the knavish policy of Cecil, and Elizabeth, to leave the question, at issue, undecided ; by hearing the charges, without attending to the defences. In this view of the subject, it may be satisfactory to state, briefly, Murray's charge, with what the Queen might, if she had been more happily placed, have proved, in its refutation. The issue between them being, who murdered her husband? A thousand facts have been, recently, ascertained, which represent the conduct of both parties, in new, and more genuine colours.^b The following, then, is the *charge*, which was made against the Queen : and was signed, by the Regent Murray, by Morton, the Chancellor, by Lord Lindsay, by the Bishop of Orkney, and by the Commendator of Dumfermlin :—

“ The Scotch Commissioners say ; they consider it as certain, and they have, constantly affirmed, that James Earl Bothwell was the chief committer of the murder of the late King : So, the Queen, who, soon after, married Bothwell, must have been in the fore-

^b See Murray's charge in Goodall, ii. 206 : and the Queen's answer, *Ib.* 285.

“ knowledge thereof, and even the contriver,
“ and director of her husband’s murder. 2dly.
“ That she had impeded, and prevented, the
“ prosecution of Bothwell, for that horrible
“ crime. 3dly. That she having married Both-
“ well, they began a new and cruel tyranny, in
“ her kingdom. 4thly. That the Queen, and
“ Bothwell, *intended*, to murder the Queen’s
“ son, as they had murdered the father; and
“ thus transfer the sovereignty, from the legiti-
“ timate heir, to Bothwell. 5thly. In which
“ respect, the estates of Scotland, finding her
“ unworthy to reign, determined that she should
“ resign the crown, in favour of her infant
“ son, with the regency, during his infancy, to
“ Murray.”

It has been remarked, that this charge against Mary, has never been pointedly answered, by the Queen’s friends; nor have the documents, produced in support of those imputations, been ever refuted. In order that, this may be no longer said, however absurdly, I shall proceed, in the same series, to answer the above charge; consisting as it does, of *gross falsehoods*, and absurd sophistries, which could have only been made before willing judges.

(1) Yes; Bothwell was one of the chief com-mitters of the murder of the King: But, it was, as one of a conspiracy, consisting of Murray’s

faction ; particularly, of Morton. Bothwell was the mere *cat's-paw*, of that conspiracy, without any communication with the Queen : And, Bothwell was afterwards made the *scape-goat* of the same conspiracy. But, the Queen was not one of that conspiracy !

It is certain, now, whatever it might have been formerly, that the Scottish King was murdered, by Murray's faction. The epoch of this conspiracy was Michaelmas 1566, when Darnley came to Edinburgh, and would, scarcely, enter the palace, because *the lords* were within : The Queen, however, carried him up a private stair, and took him to her bosom, and her bed. His conduct was such, on that occasion, when he talked of emigrating, from Scotland, that *the lords*, Murray, and Maitland, formed the plot, which ended, in his death. It was at that epoch, that Bothwell, whom they had always hated, was drawn into the concert, as Murray admitted, in answer to Argyle, and Huntley's charge ; and was, of course, one of the conspirators, when the Queen, in October following, visited him, at Hermitage-castle. At Craigmillar-castle, in November, thereafter, the conspiracy was carried into detail, after the Queen had positively refused to be divorced, from Darnley : She was now included, in the fate of her husband ; as she was destined, by the con-

spirators, to be the wife of Bothwell, after the murder of Darnley. Writings were, on that occasion, certainly, drawn, and signed, by the conspirators; assigning to each his part; and engaging for mutual support.

Morton, who was then expatriated, in England, was informed, by Maitland, of the whole plot, and the parties: But, Maitland dared not do this, without the direction of Murray; neither could the conspiracy have been formed, without his assent; as he was at the head of an overpowering faction, and had the chief conduct of all affairs.^c In this view of the plot, Bothwell, and the Queen, were both to be disgraced, by their marriage; he was, in consequence, to be expelled; and she dethroned: The facts, as they were ascertained, by events, demonstrate the details, which form the outlines of the plot.

Morton was pardoned, at Christmas, 1566, by the solicitation of Elizabeth, Cecil, Murray, Athole, *Bothwell*, and other nobles; acting in concert. Morton still remained, at Berwick, on the 10th of January, following. But, he soon after retired to Whittingham, in Haddington, where about the 20th of the same month,

^c For proofs, see Goodall, ii. 317, 321, 352: and see Ormiston's confession, in *Arnot's Crim. Trials*, 383-8.

he was visited, by Maitland, and Bothwell, for the purpose of concerting the murder of Darnley.^d This, then, is the very definition of a conspiracy ; being the concert of three persons of great note, who were connected with, and in the confidence of Murray, for the King's murder.

The next point, after the foregoing proofs of a conspiracy, is, to prove, beyond a doubt, that those three miscreants, Bothwell, Maitland, and Morton, the conspirators, were, in after times, severally, convicted of the same crime, as it had been concerted, by them, on that occasion. The King was murdered on the 9-10th February 1566-7 : And Bothwell was attainted, by the Parliament of December 1567, for the murder,

^d Drury, the Marshal of Berwick's letter to Cecil, of the 23d of January 1566-7, in the Paper Office. On the block when Morton was to be decapitated, for the murder, he confessed, that the object of their meeting was, to concert the death of Darnley. [See Dalryell's *Illustrations of Scots Hist.* 493-6.] Archibald Douglas, the cousin, and agent of Morton, who was present at Whittingham, avows the same object, as the business of that meeting, with Morton. [See Douglas's letter in Robertson's *Appendix*, 350 ; Goodall, i. 282.] The object of the meeting, then, cannot be doubted : and, it is equally apparent, that Bothwell then acted, with Murray's friends, and *not* with the Queen.

and parricide, by him committed, in pursuance of that conspiracy, on the person of Henry, the late King ;^e Bothwell, being expelled his country, died, in Denmark, confessing his guilt. Maitland was also attainted, by Parliament, in 1571, for the same crime ;^f and died, by poison, in 1573, from whatever hand.^g Morton was convicted of the same crime, in 1581 ; was beheaded, for the treason, and his conviction was confirmed, by Parliament, in November 1581.^h

^e Sir Lewis Steuart's MS. collections ; *Acta Parl.* iii. 6.

^f Sir Lewis Steuart has gathered, from the record, under the year 1571, the conviction of William Maitland the younger, for airt and part of the treason, *conspiracy, consultation*, of the King's murder ; *Acta Parl.* iii. 58, 137.

^g Spots. *Hist.* 271-2 ; Kylligrew, Elizabeth's envoy at Edinburgh, wrote to Cecil, on the 12th of June 1573 ; " Nothing has occurred here of late, but Lethington's death, " not without suspicion of poison : " Morton was, plainly, pointed at. This happened, after the surrender of Edinburgh-castle, wherein he had long been protected.

^h Arnot's *Crim. Trials*, 388-92 ; Sir Lewis Steuart's MS. collections ; *Acta Parl.* iii. 227-9 : See Morton's confession, in Dalyell's *Illustrations*, 493 ; Moyses's *Mem.* 53-4 : After this veracious writer has given an account of the beheading of Morton, on the 2nd of June 1581, he adds, what is very important, " Upon the next day, one John Binning, servant " to Archibald Douglas, declaring that he was present with " his master, at the murder, was hanged, and demeaned as " a traitor." *Ib.* 55. See Arnot's *Crim. Trials*, 7-9, for the trial of Archibald Douglas, for the King's murder.

The fact, then, is certain, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the three conspirators, at Whittingham, were convicted of the King's murder : The conspiracy was first proved, completely ; and, secondly, the conviction of the conspirators was proved, from the publick records, and from the *Acta Parliamentorum*. As to the principal question, who murdered the King ; there can be no doubt now, whatever Elizabeth, and Cecil, may have thought, or pretended to think, formerly ; or whatever historians, or disputants, may have written, more recently. The answer, for ever, must be, Darnley, the Queen's husband, was murdered by Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland, in concert with Murray, the chief of the conspiracy, who was, principally, benefited, by the result of the plot : But, as they were, certainly, the murderers, the Queen was innocent of the *fore-knowledge* of the fact ; much more, could not have been a plotter, and contriver of the murder.

It is but a very false conclusion, which the accusers of Mary make, that because the Queen, soon after the murder, married Bothwell, she must have had fore-knowledge thereof ; and even been the contriver, and director of her husband's murder : For, she did *not consent* to that marriage, but was *coerced* to agree to marry Bothwell. Now, there was an act of the

Privy Council, at the head of which was Morton, one of her accusers, of the 21st of July 1567, which asserts, that Bothwell, treasonably arrested the Queen, on the highway, and forcibly carried her to Dunbar-castle, and constrained her, being in his bondage and thralldom, to contract an ungodly and pretended marriage with him. [Anderson's *Col.* i. 142.] The Act of Parliament, in December 1567, which attainted Bothwell, charged him, as the grounds of that forfeiture, with the same three facts, in stronger language; (1) that he had seized her on the road; (2) that he had forcibly carried her to Dunbar-castle: (3) that he had therein coerced the Queen to marry him. [*Acta Parl.* iii. 6.] Those three facts being true, the inference of the charge must be false; what fore-knowledge of the murder could she have from a *coerced marriage*? Being coerced by a ruffian, what guilt could she incur? Yet, say her accusers, she was the contriver, and director of her husband's murder. No: as they were guilty of the murder, she could not be guilty; as she was the victim of the conspiracy of her accusers.ⁱ

ⁱ *Acta Parl.* iii. p. 58: Murray, Morton, and Maitland, as they sat in that Parliament, knew the three facts, above-mentioned; and of course, stated, deliberately, what they

2ndly. That she had prevented the prosecution of Bothwell, while the conspirators themselves obtained his acquittal, and a declaration of his innocence, is only an aggravation of their own villainy, in charging upon the Queen what themselves had done, collusively. The Queen, personally, had not influence, either to promote, or prevent, the prosecution of Bothwell; Murray's faction was all-powerful: and the whole officers of state, who had the conduct of the public affairs, were, merely, his creatures. Bothwell was, in fact, tried, for the murder of Darnley, by Murray's judges; and

knew to be false: the logick, then, of the charge against the Queen, by these murderers of her husband, was not only absurd, but criminal: The conspirators, who charged her with the guilt of marrying Bothwell, were the very plotters, who, in pursuit of their object against Darnley, encouraged Bothwell, to carry off the Queen, and to coerce her to marry the ruffian, whom they meant, to make a scape-goat. The Queen incurred no guilt, in marrying Bothwell, any more than any other woman incurs guilt, who is overpowered, by a ruffian, and submits to a force which she could not resist. Under all those facts, and circumstances, to assert, that the Queen, who was thus coerced, by the conspirators, to marry Bothwell, who must have known of the murder, was absurd in argument, and most wicked, in the murderers, to cast the guilt of that crime, from themselves, upon their innocent sovereign. To this effect, see the Act of the Privy Council, on the 21st of July 1567, before mentioned.

was acquitted, by the management of Morton and Maitland, who now charged the Queen : The conspirators had engaged, to save Bothwell harmless, and to reward him with the Queen's marriage : and they performed both those engagements, with the aid of his own audacity, to coerce the Queen, when he could not persuade her. After his acquittal, Morton, and Maitland, procured a bond, from many nobles, and prelates ; declaring him innocent of the imputed crime, and the fittest for the Queen's husband, which they would defend ; emboldened, by these means, Bothwell arrested the Queen, on the road to Edinburgh ; carried her to Dunbar-castle, and therein coerced her to marry him. It is false, then, that she impeded the prosecution of Bothwell : It was the Queen's accusers, who protected him, saved him harmless, and enabled him, to force the Queen to marry him. The villainy of the Queen's accusers, in charging her with preventing the prosecution of Bothwell, while themselves were guilty of acquitting him, from prosecution, evinces the wickedness of the charge, and its falsehood.

3dly. They charged the Queen, that having married Bothwell, they began a new and cruel tyranny : But, of this charge, there are no examples given, nor proofs brought ; so that it

consisted of the assertions of murderers, and and falsifiers. Murray's officers of state continued, in their several functions, and Maitland, the secretary of state, acted, after the marriage, as before ; so that they were the tyrants, if any were, and not the Queen. But, as soon as the marriage was solemnized, which the murderers had forced upon the Queen, the conspirators, with Morton, at their head, began to treat Bothwell, as a *scape-goat*, having no more occasion, for his odious services : And, Morton, who had taken the lead, in procuring Bothwell's acquittal, when tried for the murder, and in obtaining a written declaration of so many nobles, and prelates, of *his innocence*, and of *his fitness*, for the Queen's husband ; drew his sword against both : Such gross contradictions, in such a character, not only shows the wickedness of the transactions, and the falsehood of the charge, but the villainy of the man.

4thly. Those convicted murderers next charge the Queen, and Bothwell, with *intending* to murder her only son, that Bothwell might reign alone : The charge, by the murderers of the father, then, is, that the Queen would murder her only hope, to please a husband, whom they had forced upon her. Three months, before the date of this falsehood, the Queen had placed her son, in the hands of the Earl of Mar,

Murray's relation ; and had assigned the Castle of Stirling, for his residence, which Bothwell could not enter, either by force, or fraud. Such a charge, by such guilty wretches, in such circumstances, evinces the baseness, and falsehood, of the conspirators, as well as the gross credulity of the Scottish people, during a fanatical age.

5thly. The last charge is, that the Scottish Parliament, in respect of all those circumstances, demanded of the Queen the resignation of her crown. This charge is as false, and as base, as any of the former ones. And it amounted to this, that *the estates* demanded the Queen's resignation. The guilty conspirators altogether forget, that on the 16th of June 1567, the convicted murderer Morton, with five other nobles as base as himself, dethroned the Queen, by imprisoning her in Lochleven-castle ; that in July following,^k they compelled their sovereign, by personal violence, to resign, in a formal manner, her sovereignty to her son, and to relinquish her government to Murray, during the child's infancy. The Castle of Lochleven was the guilty scene of this treasonable act : and Lord Lindsay, one of her present ac-

^k Cecil in his *Diary*, Murdin 763, states the above fact on the 24th of July 1567.

users, was the infamous instrument of such atrocious violence to a woman, and a Queen. Yet, there was one more act of even grosser violence, committed, before this traitorous action could be completed: Lord Lindsay brought a mob, to compel the Keeper of the Privy Seal, to affix that seal to the three instruments of resignation. It was at three o'clock, in the afternoon, of the 25th of July 1567, that Lord Lindsay brought those instruments to Thomas Sinclair, who had been deputy keeper of that seal, from 1555 to 1574; and who, amidst a world of wickedness, was an honest man; as appeared, by his refusing, so long as the Queen's majesty was *in ward*, to seal any such letters, as were extraordinary: Lord Lindsay pressed him to seal the instruments; but he continued to refuse the seal: And, Lord Lindsay took from him the seal, and *with company of folks*, compelled him to seal the same; which this honourable man protested was against his will, *vi majori*, which he could not resist. By this violence, then, was the privy seal obtained to the three instruments of resignation. The same facts, indeed, were stated, by the *Queen's* Parliament, upon the 12th of June 1571, in nearly the same words.¹ This

¹ The above singular act of violence, and villainy, has been

last charge, then, was not borne out by the facts, which evince, that Morton, and the other conspirators, by coercion, obtained from the imprisoned Queen, a resignation of her government: to which instrument of resignation, the Privy Seal was affixed, under the violence of a mob; Lord Lindsay, one of the present accusers, being the instrument of those violences. This last charge, then, is false, a deliberate falsification; which demonstrates, that the five accusers were altogether unworthy of any belief.

The *charge* of the *conspirators*, as it has been now shown to be a deliberate falsehood, also evinces, that the documents, which were brought to support it, must necessarily, be false. The conspirators produced love-letters, from a Queen to one of the conspirators, in a plot, which had, for its end, the sacrifice of the same Queen, as a victim: They produced love-sonnets, from the same Queen, to the same ruffian, who coerced her to marry him: But, it would require proofs of Holy Writ, to prove the genuineness of such letters, and sonnets. The conspirators swore that such letters, and sonnets, were genuine: But, what avail the oaths of miscreants,

lately laid open to the world, by the ingenious, and inquisitive John Riddel, one of the learned faculty of advocates, at Edinburgh, in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, for October 1817.

who were capable of any baseness; and who were themselves the guilty accusers? They produced state papers, which, by collation with the records published, under the Record Commissioners, appear to have been *vitiating*, by interpolation, or subtraction. But, it has been established, as a maxim, in courts of justice, and in the habits of life, that they, who have been detected, in the practice of fraudulence, ought, ever after, to be regarded, with a jealous eye. The cart-load of papers, which the conspirators laid before Elizabeth, ought, therefore, to be considered, as so much falsification, forged, and feigned, for the present occasion of calumny. And though the conspirators were ready enough with their own perjuries; yet, did the King's murderers find it a hard task, even with the aid of Cecil's artifices, and Elizabeth's dissimulation, when they undertook to prove, that innocence was guilt, fiction was fact, and forgery was truth. It is quite apparent, that the two facts, which have been already ascertained, that the very men, who charged the Queen, were the murderers of her husband: 2dly, that three of the guilty plotters were attainted, by Parliament, of that atrocious deed; demonstrate the falsification of the conspirator's documents, whether letters, or sonnets, contracts, or state papers; as truth, and falsehood, cannot stand

together. The cart-load of papers before mentioned, which were produced, by the guilty hands of Maitland, and Buchanan, and other criminal agents of Murray; have been all torn in tatters, by the acumen, and industry of Goodall, and Tytler, and by the discernment, and eloquence of Whitaker, who thus closes his examination of them :

“ Their fate,” says this powerful writer, “ has been already pronounced. They are proved to be forgeries, by all the possible modes of trying them: The *internal*, and *external* evidence; their variations in substance, their variations in form, their variations in words; the history of the rebels’ conduct; the history of Elizabeth’s proceedings, at the conferences, in England, concerning them: Their contradictions to facts; their repugnances to common sense; their inconsistency with all chronology; and their violent oppositions to themselves, and to each other; all show them *to be forgeries*, with an accumulative weight of testimony.”

Whatever may have been the opinion of Elizabeth, and of Cecil, with regard to the truth, or to the falsehood of the several documents, which had been produced, in evidence, at York, at Westminster, and at Hampton-court, they clearly saw, that their great object of disgracing the Queen was now obtained. She was

charged with being accessory to the murder of her husband : She had denied this charge : she had retorted the same charge on her accusers : and, it suited the obvious purpose of Elizabeth, to close the enquiry, at this stage of an inconsequential investigation, by imprisoning more closely her hated, and high-minded rival ; and by dismissing Murray, and his associate murderers to Scotland, which was now sunk, owing to such measures of guilty men, into a dependency of England.

But, a charge, and a conviction, are very different imputations ! A charge may be refuted ; but, a conviction is decisive : The Scottish Queen was *charged*, but, the proofs, which were laid before Elizabeth's Commissioners, partial, and perjured, as they were ; were all either forged, or interpolated, or fictitious documents, that only disgraced the accusers, and contaminated Elizabeth, and her subservient Commissioners : On the other hand, it has been, at length, proved, beyond a controversy, that the accusers of the Scottish Queen were the real assassins of her husband. The innocence of the Scottish Queen remained untouched, by the enquiry, which only furnished materials for calumny ; while the subordinate criminals, when they were put to death, for the same crime, “ took God to record,” saith Lesley, “ that this

“murder of Darnley was by the conspirators’
“counsel, and invention, committed ; but,
“that they never knew the Queen to be parti-
“cipant, or aware thereof.”^m

Yet ; upon the avowed principle of Cecil, and Elizabeth, of disgracing the Queen of Scots, by calumny, the English Secretary long continued to gratify Elizabeth’s malignity, and his own passion, for artifice, as he knew, *that other purposes, concerning the Scottish Queen, could not be obtained, without disgracing her.* It was on this policy, that Cecil, from time to time, as the occasion required, demanded fresh documents of a like sort, from Murray, for the aforesaid object of disgracing the Scottish Queen, in the world’s view. Hence, were the two confessions, or declarations of Paris, the Frenchman, and servant of Bothwell, which were dated, on the 9th and 10th of August 1569, while he lay, as a condemned criminal, in Murray’s castle of St. Andrews : The first related, chiefly, to Bothwell ; the second, to the Queen.ⁿ Those papers have been reprobated, by Goodall, and Tytler,

^m *Defence of Mary’s Innocence*, 1569. p. 44-5.

ⁿ See those fabricated documents, in Anderson, and Goodall’s *Collections* : The original of the first is in the Cotton Library ; the original of the second is in the Paper Office, where I have inspected it.

and Whitaker, as disgraced, by every mark of forgery. Of the *second* declaration against the Scottish Queen, I have taken the forgers, Buchanan, and Wood, the notorious instruments of Murray, in the very act of fabrication.^o And we cannot doubt what the knavish design of Murray was, in praising himself, and calumniating the Queen, by that nefarious transaction of so many forgers. It was sent up to Cecil, by Murray, in the charge of the Commen-

^o The *testing* clause, or colophon of that *second* declaration of Paris is in the original, as followeth: "The copie of this Declaration, and Deposition, markit every leaf with the said Nicholas Howbert's own hand [marked thus] being read again in his presence, he avowed the same, and all parts and clauses thereof, to be undoubtedly true: [In presence of Mr. George Buchanan, Maister of St. Leonard's College, in St. Andrews, Mr. John Wood, Senator of the College of Justice, and Robert Ramsay, writer of this Declaration, servant to my Lord Regent's Grace.]" The whole clause, which is put, by me, between brackets []; and which is so very important, was suppressed, by Anderson's knavery. Secondly, we see, that Alexander Hay, the notary, who was made, by management, the officer, to certify the truth of that Declaration, by "*Ita est*," was not present, at the taking of this Declaration. It is to be constantly recollected, that French Paris could neither write, nor read: So he was a fit person, condemned, as he was, for the villainy of Buchanan, and the baseness of Wood, to work upon.

dator of Dunfermlin, on the 15th of October 1569, "gif furder pruiſ be requirit."^p Cecil immediately ſaw, that he could not make any public uſe of ſuch a declaration, which was taken by, and before, ſuch notorious agents of Murray, as Buchanan and Wood, and Ramsay, the Regent's ſervant. And the artful Secretary of Elizabeth deſired the hypocritical Regent of Scotland, to ſend him a *certified copy* of the ſame declaration of Paris: we thus ſee the origin of the copy with Hay's certificate of "*Ita eſt*," which remains in the Cotton Library, while the original reſts ſafely, in the Paper Office, indorſed by Cecil's ſecretary, "The ſecond declaration of Paris." We thus ſee how thoſe artful, and knaviſh men, Cecil, and Murray, played the game of fraudulence into one another's hands, for concealing the truth, and perpetuating falſehood. Cecil, and Murray played the ſame odious fraud, when they concurred in the forgery of the treaty of Edinburgh.

The confessions of Paris, thus made, by notorious forgers, have been ſhown, to be full of

^p Goodall, ii. 84-88 ; Anderson's *Gen. Pref.* 19. I ſaw the original, in the Paper Office ; a circumſtance this, which proves, that Cecil had received it ; as was intended, by Murray.

ignorance, and artifice, contradiction, and falsehood ; objections these, which Mr. Laing declares “ *to be frivolous ;*” and, incidentally, avows his opinion of the genuineness of Paris’s declaration ! Yes ; it is a very frivolous objection to any writing, which may be produced, as proof, to show, that it was forged, by the party, producing it ! One of the criminal judges of Scotland, in 1750, by reading the foregoing declaration of Paris, was induced, to believe every scandal, that had been cast on the character of the Scottish Queen. It were to be wished, that judges, and lawyers, philosophers and historians, in Scotland, would imitate the cautious conduct of English judges, who would ask some questions before they would read such documents : An English judge would enquire, who proves those confessions ? They cannot be read, he would say, till they be authenticated.

It was, from the same *officina fraudis*, that *Buchanan’s Detection* proceeded, in 1570. We may fitly say of this notorious work, that it contains *a lie in every line* ; as it was written under Cecil’s eye, for the odious purpose of calumniating one Queen, to gratify another.* Well

* The original of the above notorious libel was in Latin : and this was soon after sent, by Cecil, to his Queen’s ambassador, at Paris, with a hint, “ to present it, *if need be*,

might they cry out, in Scotland, the English have left nothing unset out, tending to our Queen's infamy. But, Cecil went a step further, in his calumnious career: When the bishop of Ross sent to the press, towards the end of 1569, *A Defence of the honour of his mistress, the Queen of Scots*, Cecil suppressed what he could not have easily answered, without the defamations of Murray, and the perjuries of Morton.

Buchanan, immediately, transcribed his detection, with its lie, in every line, into his baser History, as we may learn, from Ruddiman: Even the History was written, under the eye of Cecil, with the fell design, of propagating the most seditious principles, as well as the absurd-

“ to the King, as from yourself, and likewise some of the
 “ other noblemen of his council; for they will serve, to good
 “ effect, to disgrace her; which must be done, before other
 “ purposes can be obtained.” [Digges's *Ambassador*, 151; Goodall, *Introd.* 25.] Cecil, and Buchanan, concurred in thinking, that it would be well not to publish *Paris's second declaration*, in the detection. Of the villainy of Cecil, there can be no doubt. Whoever recollects what I have so strongly proved, as a most important fact, that it was a conspiracy of Murray, Morton, Maitland, and *Bothwell*, as a *cat's-paw*, who murdered Darnley; and who fabricated so many forgeries to cast the guilt, from themselves upon the Scottish Queen, must think with me, that it is not saying too much, to remark, the Detection of Buchanan contains some lie, in every line.

est tales, to justify the transfer of a legitimate sceptre to an ambitious^r bastard. De Thou adopted the falsehoods of Buchanan, and would not be undeceived, by Camden, the best historian of that age. Holinshed was, also, deluded, by Buchanan's balderdash: But, he wrote under the eyes of Cecil's spies, and with the apprehension of Elizabeth's mace. Of the same

^r Buchanan's History was first printed at Edinb. 1582. It was surreptitiously printed, in 1583: and there was a real edition of it, at Frankfort, in 1584, in 8vo. There appears to have been another edition at the same town. [Druidius's *Bibl.* 1264.] These editions, at Frankfort 1589, 8vo. seem to have comprehended the *De Jure* of Buchanan. The *De Jure* was probably written about the year 1569: It was first printed, at Edinburgh, in 1579; again, in 1580; again, in 1589, and at Geneva, in 1583, Rud. *Pref.* It was an age of revolutions: and, such wild, but ingenious speculations on government suited the tastes of many men. Buchanan's History, and *De Jure*, were condemned by the Scots Parl. 8th James VI, ch. 134. But this legislative condemnation did not, as we have seen, suppress them. It is curious to remark, that the Lord Chancellor Egerton, in delivering his judgment, in the famous cause of the *Postnati*, praised Mr. Adam Blackwood, a Scotsman, for his singular learning, in the civil law; and for defending the Laws of Scotland against the libel of Buchanan, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, and the seditious principles of those sectaries, Penry, Knox, and such like. See the Lord Chancellor's published speech, 1609, 44-99. The first translation of Buchanan's History was printed at London, in 1690.

sort of apocryphal narrative is Spottiswoode's *History of the church and state of Scotland*. He was told, by King James, *to write the truth and spare not*, concerning his mother : yet, this preceptive license did not warrant the Chancellor Archbishop, to transcribe so frequently into his History, so many of the lies, and lampoons, of Buchanan : Spottiswoode was an honest man, but, he was a writer, without reading, and without critical acumen. In 1584, was printed, at London, Knox's History of the Reformation of the Scotian Church :^{*} But, it was immediately mutilated, by the vigilance of Cecil, who seems to have been jealous of every contemporary book, except his own. Next to Goodwin, the chaplain of Murray, Elizabeth disliked Knox, the most ; as we learn from Cecil, who, however, made use of him, in Scotland, to disturb Mary's government : It should seem, however, that the political writings of the more zealous reformers, in that age, were what are now reprobated, as *jacobinical* ; being equally irreconcilable to the principles of established society, as inconsistent with the pure precepts of the christian religion.

During every year of Mary's unfortunate life, some pamphlet was sent from the press, under

^{*} Herbert, *Typ. An.* ii. 1074.

Cecil's eye to blast her character; as without her disgrace, it would not have been easy, for that able, but artful statesman, to justify so many measures against the Scottish Queen, in addition to her continuance in prison. At the end of eighteen years, she died on the block, with a dignified resolution, a sacrifice to Cecil's hate, and Elizabeth's envy. To blunt the indignation of her son, and the resentment of her friends, it was given out, at the epoch of her death, that she had made a testament; leaving the kingdom of Scotland to Spain. It was one of the last requests, that she made to Melvin, the steward of her household: "Com-
"mend me to my son," said she; "and tell
"him, that *I have not done any thing prejudi-
"cial to the state, and kingdom of Scotland.*"
When the Scottish Queen declared, that she was ready to die, she thereby blunted the unnatural malignity of Elizabeth, and defied the habitual hatred of Cecil, whose pasquils followed the calumniated Queen to her silent grave.

There could not be any libel on the life of the Scottish Queen, after the accession of her son

* Ruddiman's *Animadversions on Love's Vindication of Buchanan*, 46-7. Goodall's *Enquiry*, i. 410-11, wherein is published, the genuine testament of the dying Queen.

to the crown of England, who was cautioned to forget, and to forgive: In Daniel's panegyrick on King James, 1603, the poet presumed to instruct him:

" A king of England now most graciously,
Permits the injuries that have been done
T' a King of Scots, and makes his clemencie
To check them more, than his correction:
Th' annoynted blood, that stain'd most shamefully
This ill seduced state, he looks thereon,
With th' eye of grief, not wrath t'avenge the same;
Since the authors are extinct that caused that shame."

The seventeenth century was too much occupied with its own disputes, its peculiar innovations, and its civil war, to disturb the sepulchral quiet of the Scottish Queen, or to follow her fame, with fresh calumnies. The popish plot, however, and the exclusion bill, brought out a folio, in 1681; containing a life of the Scottish Queen, the old lampoons, the plots of the papists, the trials of Norfolk, and of Arundel, with similar topicks of party device, for popular delusion. The Revolution of 1688 called forth, indeed, the *Translation* of Buchanan's History, which seems to have been written, as a voucher, for every revolution of whatever kind, whether vicious, or virtuous, for their grounds, either causeless, or necessary. This History was accompanied, by the *Detectio Ma-*

rice, which was now made *English*, as if it had never been made English before. The translator thought it necessary, for the reader's better understanding the History, to acquaint him, that James, the *fifth*, having lost his two sons (both in one week) a little before *he was slain at Floddon-field*, left no other heir, but Mary, a child of *four* days old, which he never had seen. This child was accepted; and at five years of age, (the Scots seeing they could make better merchandize of her, in France, than with us, in England,) sent her abroad; and at twelve married her to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis, *the first*, who at the end of two years left her a widow; and so she returned to Scotland, where she found her mother weltering, in her cruelties (a Guise) and was wasting, and gathering, with all her might. But, of such *balderdash* enough! It was Mary's grandfather, who fell at Floddon-field, in 1513; She was seven days old, when her father James V. died, in December 1542. She married Francis II., not Francis I., who was contemporary with her grandfather. Her mother died, in June 1560: And, Mary returned to her kingdom, in August 1561. The *Detection* was published, at the epoch of 1688, to vilify the living, by offering insults to the dead: But, *the Revolution* required not such ignorance, for its justification.

Yet, was there published, at London, in 1699, "from an original manuscript," a relation of the death of David Rizzi, the chief favourite of Mary Queen of Scots ; written, by the Lord Ruthven, one of the principal persons concerned, in that action. There were prefixed to this relation some remarkable passages, from Buchanan's History, concerning *Rizzi*. Such were the artifices of that period, to disgrace, by calumny, the almost forgotten name of the Scottish Queen ! Yet, may it be even now shown, that Lord Ruthven's supposed relation was, merely, one of Cecil's pamphlets, for directing popular indignation to innocent^a objects. It is written, in the language of Cecil, and not in the speech of Ruthven and Morton. Cecil, who was an accessory to the murder before the fact, seized the occasion, to mitigate the crime,

^a Ruthven was dying, when he fled, from Edinburgh, to Berwick, after committing the aggravated assassination of *Rizzio*, and insulting, as well as endangering the Queen's person ; as we know, from Sir W. Drury's correspondence, from Berwick, with Secretary Cecil. There is, in the Paper Office, a joint letter, from Morton, and Ruthven, dated the 2d of April 1566, to Cecil, with a draught of their representation of the slaughter of *Davy* ; containing their desire, "that Cecil would correct it, and send it back ; to be circulated, in Scotland, and other places, for staying of false reports."

and to convert Darnley into the principal assassin. Cecil thus new-modelled the narrative, and translated the Scottish dialect into intelligible English: And, as the dead never answer questions, Cecil attributed his own work to Lord Ruthven, who died, on the 13th of May 1566.* In this manner, then, did Lord Ruthven become an author; and for this narrative of the guilty Cecil, did the late Horace Walpole insert Lord Ruthven in the Catalogue of royal, and noble authors. The whole conspiracy against Rizzio was contrived, by Secretary Maitland, the great manufacturer of *godly plots*, for the relief of the Earl of Murray, and his adherents, from banishment, for a rebellion against Mary's marriage, with Darnley: the Earl of Morton was now the principal actor:

* The time of Ruthven's death is settled, by the *Inquisitio post mortem*: Lord Morton wrote, from Alnwick, to Cecil, on the 16th of May 1566: "My Lord Ruthven is departed " which is no small grief unto us all; and yet the same was " so *godly*, that all men who saw it did rejoice." Lord Ruthven left a *godly* son, who was pardoned, by the Scottish Queen, for his share, in that murder; and who lived to arrest King James, at *the raid of Ruthven*, [rising]; and to be executed, for his treason. Lord Ruthven left, also, a *godly* grandson, who, in attempting to seize King James, in Ruthven-house, at Perth, was slain during the traitorous act. This *godly* name was abolished, by Parliament.

and Lord Darnley was drawn in, by their artifices, to concur, in that assassination. Elizabeth, and Cecil, were fully informed, by the previous dispatches of Bedford, and Randolph, with regard to the whole detail of that abominable murder: and protecting the principal actors, in that atrocious scene, Elizabeth, and Cecil, were accessories to the murder, both before and after the fact: This comes of carrying subtle policy into actual crime.

During the year 1705, Crawford, the historiographer, published his ill-fated *Memoirs*: And, in his dedication to the Earl of Glasgow, he says, “Last winter, was published An Account of the Affairs of Scotland; wherein the copier of Buchanan, as an Appendix, presents us with some scraps of *the pretended Detection*.” A living Queen, we thus see, was to be vilified, by reviving the lampoons on her entombed progenitor. At the same time, Crawford published, anonymously, “A Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots, from the foul aspersions of Buchanan.” Considering into whose hands Mary’s vindication was to fall, this feeble attempt of Crawford might have well been spared: Yet, he observed, from Turner, what will always be remarked, while any zeal, for truth, and law remains, in the world, that Buchanan was the first, who reduced rebellion to an art, and

publickly taught, the lessons of treasons, for any conspiracy.

The first reign of a new dynasty was distinguished, by the revival of the antiquated scandals on Mary Steuart. In 1721 was published *an Appendix* to Buchanan's History, with *the Detection*, and the *De Jure*, and a sculpture, by Kirkhall, of *Fame*, blowing those disgraceful lampoons, throughout a deluded world. This gross publication was followed, in 1722, by Bond's Translation of Buchanan's History, with its usual adjuncts of sedition, and libel.

The year 1722 was, also, remarkable, for a discovery, which was somewhat favourable to Mary, as it was highly disgraceful to Elizabeth. It was the publication of Walsingham and Davison's Letters, written, by Elizabeth's direction, to Sir Amias Paulet, the rigid gaoler of the Scottish Queen; inciting his zeal, by authority, to assassinate the hated Mary:† And, to

† It is curious to enquire, when, and by what means, such a discovery was made, that was propagated with uncommon perseverance. In 1722, Doctor George Mackenzie (not Sir George Mackenzie, as the late Lord Orford has it,) published the third volume of his *Lives*, wherein, he published those instructive letters, which exposed the heart of Elizabeth; and which had been copied for him, from the MS., by Urry, who is still remembered, for his *Chaucer*.

those was appended what was more disgraceful to Elizabeth, Davison's apology, for advising the English Queen, to follow the legal judgment, by avoiding secret practice. When it was once proved, by such publications, that Elizabeth was very capable of deliberate assassination, it was in vain, for historians to tell us that, as a woman, Elizabeth had no chastity, as a princess, no honour, as a sovereign, no faith. After Mary had fallen, under her murderous axe, Paulet was sent to govern Jersey-isle, by the wisdom of Cecil, where he might be out of

Hearne, who published his *Robert of Glocester*, in 1724, printed, in his *Glossary*, 671, the same letters of Walsingham, and Davison, which had been copied, by his friend, in 1717, from *Paulet's Letter-book*. The Oxford Antiquary printed, in the same *Glossary*, where no one would have expected to find such documents, some other epistles of Elizabeth; her letter to Denmark, soliciting the delivery of Bothwell, and another, dated on Palm Sunday, 1572, wherein she said, "that the Queen of Scots head should never be quiet;" so restless was the English Queen's malignity! Thus far Hearne! But, Paulet's letters were not quite new: For, there had been published, in 1681, a letter of the same Queen to Paulet, which incited him to mischief; and in which she called her hated rival "*a wicked murtheress*:" When such expressions escaped, from Elizabeth, it was lucky, that the dagger, or the bowl, was kept out of her reach!

the way of gossip, and where he practised every mode of oppression.^z

The passion, for such publications, was now roused. In 1725, Jebb gave his *Life of Mary*, from the *records*, to which he appended Walsingham and Davison's letters, before mentioned, with the apology of Davison, which all exhibit a striking picture of Elizabeth's merciless spirit: But, he does not vindicate Mary; as he admits one half of the lies, and lampoons, of Buchanan, which Spottiswoode had done, before him; as so many indubitable truths. In 1725, Jebb published the *Vita et Rebus Gestis Mariæ*, in two folio volumes; being a collection of all the Treatises, that had been published, abroad, with regard to the Scottish Queen. But, as they did not meet Cecil, and Buchanan, face to face, they came not up to a vindication of her innocence. There now followed, without any useful information, two additional Lives of Mary, by Heywood, in 1725, and Freebairn, in 1727, which appear to have been mere translations, from the French, with the frivolity of such trifles. Anderson was now busy, in making his *voluminous collections*, with the hope of burying truth, and innocence, under the vile

^z See the Barrister Allen's speech, in Defence of the Franchises of the People of Jersey, 18.

rubbish of scandal, and disingenuity, by which with so much art, and ability, he attempted to disgrace the Scottish Queen, for ever : Anderson published his four volumes of Misrepresentations, and Concealment, in 1727 and 1728, which, as their insidiousness was soon detected, were sold, as waste paper ; leaving the Editor ruined, in his character, and injured in his property. Coincident, with all those *lives* and *collections*, were published, in 1726, “ The genuine letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, to James Earl Bothwell, by Edward Simmons ;” to which was appended an abstract of her life. During the same year, there appeared of this wretched work, a second edition, or rather, a new title page of the old exploded epistles. No one ever supposed those *genuine letters* to be true, but the late Horace Walpole, Lord Orford, who confounded them, with the real forgeries, which Goodall published, and exposed, in 1754 : Thus it is, for such a character, to suppose, that he knows every thing ; with a strong propensity to detraction ; for levelling the high, rather than raising the low.

Meantime, there appears to have arisen, at Edinburgh, a sort of society, which arose, probably from the accession of a new dynasty, and the adverse rebellion of 1715 ; and which had, for its principal objects, the supporting of Bu-

chanan's credit, and vilifying the Scottish Queen. This society continued even down to our own times, without acquiring any fame, by its performances. It was, perhaps, owing to the incitements of that society, that Anderson published his *Collections*, and Goodall his *Examination* of the letters, attributed to Mary. Goodall did much, in showing that, those letters were forgeries. He proved, by six different topicks, that those letters were written, originally, in the *Scotish* language, and that the French letters, which were produced, by Murray, and Morton, in England, were only a *translation*, from a Latin translation of the original forgeries, in the *Scotish*. The several changes in the languages, in which those letters appeared, at different times, and places, have been invariably deemed, by the ablest criticks, as the surest proofs of their spurious nature:^a those notorious epistles, thus continually changed, in their language, in their form, in their subscription, and their superscription, have been wittily compared to Sir John Cutler's

^a The immediate object of showing what cannot be doubted, that the supposititious letters of Mary, were, originally, forged, in the *Scotish*; yet, were produced, as evidence, in French, and in this form sworn to, as the genuine originals, by the *Scotish Commissioners*; was to prove the falsehood, and perjury, of those fraudulent wretches.

stockings, which had been so often dearned, as to leave not a shred of the original texture. Goodall, chiefly, failed, in his attempt to show, that Bothwell was *not concerned*, in the death of Darnley: The fact had been far more important, to prove that he was one of Murray's conspiracy, and a comploter with Morton, and Maitland, in accomplishing the King's murder. Goodall's second volume, alone, contains a greater number of instructive documents, than the four quartos of Anderson's disingenuous collections.

Doctor Robertson was now busy on his History of Scotland, which was ushered into the expecting world, on the 1st of February 1759, by so many means. Far from acquiescing in Goodall's proofs of forgery, the historian appended to his work *a Dissertation*, in direct contradiction to the inferences of the preceding *Examiner*. "In order to account for the King's murder," says the historian, "two different systems have been formed. The one supposes Bothwell to have contrived, and executed, this crime: The other imputes it to the Earls Murray, Morton, and their party." To suppose two systems is a very convenient mode of writing such a *Dissertation*; as it is easy to find arguments, for both the suppositions: But, the question will always recur, what is the

truth, without regarding either system? A view of Scottish affairs, and Scottish party, at that period, shows, with sufficient clearness, that Bothwell, even with the concert of the Queen, could not have contrived, and executed, the King's murder, without being immediately, detected, and punished. Such a plot could not have been contrived, and executed, without the concurrence of Murray, whose faction was paramount, and whose partisans were the ruling officers of state, and possessed the secret of government: Hence, it follows, that the King's murder was contrived, and executed, by a conspiracy of nobles, at the head of which was Murray, virtually: the contriver of this plot was Secretary Maitland; the chief support of the whole was the Earl of Morton; and Bothwell, who was made the *cat's-paw*, was, like other such characters, pushed the most forward of the conspirators, in committing the murder. The real conspirators had three objects; (1) To take off Darnley, whom they all abhorred; (2) to ruin Bothwell, whose enemies, the chiefs had always been; (3) to dethrone the Queen, by marrying her to Bothwell; in order to let Murray into the vice-regal chair: since he was precluded, by the birth of James, from having the crown.

To show the fact, as it occurred, independent

of all system, is so very important, that the certainty of a conspiracy cannot be too strongly proved, or too often repeated. After Morton received his pardon, for the murder of Rizzio, he came from Berwick to Whittingham, in Haddingtonshire, soon after the 10th of January 1567: About the 20th of the same month, he was visited, by Bothwell, and Maitland: And, the object of this meeting of three such characters, undoubtedly, was, to concert the murder of Darnley. The State Papers evince the fact of that meeting, at Whittingham: The dying confession of Morton avows what Archibald Douglas's letter confirms, that the purpose of that meeting was, to concert the King's murder. Now; three persons meeting to concert a murder is the legitimate definition of a conspiracy. Bothwell, Maitland, and Morton, were all, in succession, convicted of this murder. The *Acta Parliamentorum* are the records of their convictions, and guilt; Murray, as the principal conspirator, and as the chief gainer, by its result, in the Queen's dethronement, was, virtually, guilty of the same crime.^b Robertson,

^b See before the details, and proofs, of that conspiracy, and those convictions, p. 299-312. The very indictment of Morton charges him with *conspiring*, and *consulting* together with Bothwell, and others, the King's Murder. Arnot's *Crim. Trials*, App. No. v.

then, declaims, in vain, concerning *two systems*, in which Bothwell is separated, from Morton, and Maitland, and Murray : But, those documents prove, beyond a doubt, the positive conspiracy of Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland, for the murder of Darnley ; and the sophistry of Robertson consists, in separating Bothwell from the other conspirators, contrary to the fact : Now, the Dissertator thus sets out, in falsehood, and necessarily concludes in error. The conspirators, Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland, with Murray, as virtual chief, continued to operate, till Bothwell married the Queen, by force, and fraud, with the active aid of the same conspirators, as the promised reward of his crime : Bothwell and the Queen were married, on the 24th of May 1567 : And, on the 10th of June, Morton, the conspirator, drew his sword against them, which ended in Bothwell's expulsion, and her dethronement, for Murray's benefit. Robertson, therefore, fails, egregiously, in his *two systems*, which become ridiculous, when those incontrovertible proofs are considered, which demonstrate *one conspiracy*, only, whereof Bothwell, merely, acted as the instrument ; and whereof he was made, by matchless artifice, and bare-faced audacity, the victim.

A question now arises, which is as absurd, and as ridiculous, as Robertson's *two systems* ;

whether the Queen was a party to that conspiracy, of which she was the victim, or knew of the intention of the conspirators, to murder her husband, *before* the act committed, though her dethronement was the great object of the plot, her marriage being merely a means. Robertson thought, and said, that she was a party : I think, and say, *that she was not* : And, we are at issue joined upon that question.

Elizabeth was so unfeeling, and irrational, as to attempt the assassination of the Queen of Scots, who had been condemned, on proceedings at law, under an act of Parliament : And Robertson is so unfeeling, and absurd, as to insist, that the same Queen was so weak, and wicked, as to involve herself in a conspiracy, for the murder of her husband, though she might have had his life, by convicting him of treason, against her, at the assassination of Rizzio, within her palace, and in her presence, only a little twelvemonth before. I shall first examine Robertson's proofs of Mary's guilt ; and then produce my own, of her innocence, though the point is already decided.

I. No sooner, says he, was the death of Darnley known, than strong suspicions, immediately, arose, among some of her subjects, that Mary had given her consent to the commission of the crime. Yes ; The conspirators them-

selves, in order to effect their purposes, gave out, that Bothwell was the guilty noble: And they began to throw out the net, in which they ultimately ensnared the Queen. The Clergy, also, propagated their calumnies. Even the sentiments of foreigners, he adds, were no less unfavourable to her, on this occasion: Yes; Secretary Cecil, in his letters to the English ambassador, at Paris, was the guilty calumniator, who propagated such scandals, in foreign parts.^c *Many of her* nobles accused her of that crime: And many nobles declared her innocence.^d But, when Morton, and five other guilty persons, dethroned Mary, on the 15th of June 1567, and sent her to Lochleven-castle; They did not so accuse her; nor, had they any thing, to lay to her charge, that would even raise a suspicion against her. If Robertson allude to the charges brought against Mary, before the Privy Council, on the 4th of December 1567, and before the Parliament, during the same month; the last record would prove the first to be a fraudulent nullity: The forgeries introduced, on that occasion, by the accusers of Mary, evince, that the guilt was in them, and not in her. If Robertson mean, by his speak-

^c The Cabala is the record of his guilt.

^d Goodall, ii, *App.* 139.

ing of many nobles accusing the Queen, the accusation of Murray, and Morton, at the prejudiced court of England, it must be acknowledged, that they accused her; and that the very men, who murdered her husband, brought a cart-load of forgeries, to prove their charge. But, they failed; because, as I have shown, they could not prove innocence guilty; nor convert guilt into innocence: Morton, one of those, who made the charge then, was afterwards brought to the block, as one of the murderers: Maitland, who was the contriver of the conspiracy, and then attended, in aid of Murray, was also convicted, and punished, for murdering Darnley. There was a still greater convention of nobles, and prelates, who assembled, at Dunbarton, in September 1568, who avowed the Queen's innocence; as we have seen. Robertson was so absurd, as to think, that suspicions, and charges, were to establish the Queen's guilt: But, *suspicions, and charges, are not proofs.* And, since he has no proofs, he is reduced to the necessity of having recourse to a concurring series of circumstances, as being equal, according to his logick, to the testimony of record.

2. The historian has now recourse to what he calls his *circumstantial proofs.* The misconduct of Darnley converted the Queen's love

into *aversion*: But, is his assumption true? This writer is so little acquainted with life, that he mistakes the *miffs* of marriage, for the *aversion* of the wife from the husband: and the historian appears not to have been acquainted with the old axiom, which, age after age, is more and more confirmed, that *the falling out of lovers is only the renewment of love*. When Darnley came to Holyrood-house, at Michaelmas 1566, the epoch of the conspiracy, and refused to enter the Palace; as Murray, Maitland, and others, whom he hated were then within it, the Queen went out to receive him, carried him up to her private apartments, and took him to her bosom, and bed: according to Robertson's theory, this affectionate conduct of the Queen is a proof of her aversion from Darnley. When Mary lay dangerously ill, at Jedburgh, in October 1566, the coldness, and neglect, of Darnley, aggravated the Queen's sorrow, and vexation, according to his theory: Yet, when Maitland, Murray, and Bothwell, in November following, within Craigmillar-castle, proposed to free her from her husband, by a divorce, she positively dissented; saying that he would probably see, and amend the evil of his ways; and when they urged her to assent, she commanded them to do nothing, that would injure her issue, or stain

her own honour. Here, then, are circumstances, which, according to Robertson's system, evince strongly her aversion from her husband. He vexed her still more, during the subsequent month, at the baptism of their son; and she was so sickened at heart, by his absurd misconduct, before so many envoys from abroad, that she threw herself on her bed, and weeped bitterly; as we know, from the aged Le Croc, the French ambassador: and departing, without taking leave of her, to visit his father at Glasgow, he aggravated her vexation: Yet, the moment, that she heard, that he had received the *small pox*, in that infected town, she sent her own physician, to take care of the husband, whom Robertson supposes, she abhorred, and murdered. If Robertson had known these important facts, he would have added such facts to the concatenation of his circumstances, for proving the Queen's aversion from Darnley. The sick bed, and the physician, seem to have mollified the mulish spirit of Darnley; and the Queen, and her husband, actually, agreed to live together, according to the matrimonial mode, as soon, as he *could stand the cold air*, to take his journey to Edinburgh: The historian, however, as far as he acquiesced, in the truth of their reconciliation, regarded these circumstances, as proving an aversion, from each other. Ae-

tuated, partly, by ignorance, probably, more by prejudice, the historian presumed to blame the levity of the Queen, in not going herself to Glasgow, but sending her physician : without knowing, that Darnley had an infectious disease, and that the Queen, having an infant to preserve, would have acted very imprudently, to have risked, both ; her husband, and her son : And Robertson still harps upon her levity, her coldness, and her aversion. The Queen, however, with the advice, and aid, of her physician, brought her husband to the house, in *Kirk-a-field*, at the southern suburb of Edinburgh, which had been prepared, as an infirmary : Here, she often visited her husband ; and sometimes slept, in the same house, though not in the same room. The theory of Robertson, induces him, however, to consider these circumstances, as so many proofs of her aversion from her husband, and, also, of her knowledge of the conspirators' purpose to take off the object of her attachment. There is one other circumstance, which completes Robertson's circumstantial proofs, of the Queen's aversion from her husband : In the night, wherein he was murdered, the Queen spent the evening with him : But, being obliged to attend an entertainment, to celebrate the marriage of one of her women, at taking leave of Darnley, she kissed him, and

gave him a ring, from her finger: These, then, are the last proofs, which she could give her husband of her affection, as I think, or of her aversion, as the historian infers. Robertson, plainly, did not know,

“ ——— What anxious moments pass between
The birth of plots, and their last fatal periods !
O 'tis a dreadful interval of time,
Made up of horrors all, and big with death !”

And, at such a moment, did Mary give Darnley, a kiss, and ring, as emblems of her hate ! From all those intimations, Robertson adds this conclusion of his circumstantial proofs: “ In proportion to the increase of Mary's *hatred* of her husband, Bothwell made progress in her favour ; and that he became the object not only of her confidence, but of her attachment.” I have already shown that the foundation of this theory, which gives Bothwell, the conspirator, influence over Mary, is absurd, in its principle, but, unfounded in its examples. Bothwell's influence began, according to his theory, at the same moment, that the Queen retired into Edinburgh-castle, preparatory to her *accouchement*. The ignorance of this writer was not aware, that this measure of advising the Queen to choose the Castle, as the safest place, for her confinement, was but a fresh plot

of Murray ; to gain possession of this commanding stronghold, in case of the Queen's demise. This measure evinces, that he had complete power over the Queen's person, and spirit, without a rival. And, when Huntley, and *Bothwell*, applied to the Queen, for leave to sleep, in the Castle, they were expressly refused : But, by whose influence ? The answer must be, By Murray's. And, Bothwell was soon after sent, out of the way, to the borders, on the pretence of watching Morton's movements, on such an occasion : It was obviously the superior influence of Murray, that operated on both those occasions. When the Queen went to Alloa-house, after her convalescence, as a voyage of amusement, and health, there occurred, in Mary's presence, an altercation, between Murray, and Bothwell, about Secretary Maitland's pardon, when the influence of Murray prevailed. The historian is, equally unfounded in his other instances of Bothwell's influence.^e But, he is not more unfounded, in

^e We have already seen, that when a proposal was made, at Craigmillar-castle, by Murray and Maitland, for the divorce of Darnley from the Queen, Bothwell used, in vain, whatever influence, he possessed. While the historian was thus diligent in rearing a great fabrick upon the influence of Bothwell over Mary, the writer forgets, or, perhaps, never, knew that from Michaelmas 1566, Bothwell was gained, by

those examples, than he was, in supposing that he had shown an increase of Mary's hatred of her husband; when the fact appears to have been, that her attentions were constantly occupied, in reclaiming her husband to his duty. And the historian goes on to infer, from the most groundless circumstances, that Bothwell became the object, not only of her confidence, but her attachment, which ended, in her marrying him. Yes; the marriage of the Queen to Bothwell was the reward, which was constantly held up to his deluded eyes, by the conspirators. We have seen, at the Parliament of April 1567, an association proposed and executed, by the leading conspirators, for defending Bothwell's innocence; and for recommending him, as the fittest husband for the Queen: We have perceived Bothwell, in consequence of that association, seize the Queen's person, on the road, from Stirling, to Edinburgh; carry her, forcibly, to Dunbar-castle: and there coerce her, till she agreed to marry him: For these criminal acts against the Queen's person, the Parliament

Murray, to act as one of the conspirators against Darnley; and that Bothwell was much more active, as a plotter, than he was, as a paramour. Yes; Bothwell murdered the King; but, it was, as we have seen, not as a paramour of Mary, but as a conspirator, with Murray; as the tool of Murray, Morton, and Maitland.

of December 1567 attainted this guilty noble, as we have seen. From the epoch of the conspiracy, the marriage of the Queen to the murderer of her husband was constantly deemed, by the conspirators, as the chief means of her ruin. The conspirators accomplished this marriage, by fraud, and force. And, the historian is so absurd, as to consider coercion, and consent, as the same, in import: So that, in his contemplation, a forced, and a free marriage are equal, in guilt.

The great object of the historian, in converting the Queen's *confidence* in Bothwell to *attachment*, was to shew, that the Queen's marriage was the result of that attachment: But, the attainer of Parliament, who knew nothing of any attachment, or confidence, went, wholly, upon the notorious facts of his violent seizure of her person, of his forcible abduction, which they called a *ravishment*, and of an *enforced* marriage, as the treasonous result of the whole:^f The system of the historian, then, was altogether, founded, in supposition: The judgment

^f The act of the Privy Council, 21st July 1567, with Morton, at the head of it, asserts the same three facts against Bothwell; and declares, that he constrained the Queen, "being in his bondage and thralldom," to contract an ungodly marriage with him. Anderson's *Coll.* i. 142.

of the Privy Council, and of Parliament, was entirely founded upon indubitable facts.

The historian dwells much upon the steps, which the Queen took, after her husband's death, as adding strength to that supposition. He presumes, with his usual facility, what he cannot prove, that the practice, as well as the theory of the government, was in the Queen: Her name was, formally used: But, the whole was in her ministers, with Murray, as her minion, though without any office; and the public business was almost wholly conducted by the chief projector of the conspiracy, Secretary Maitland, and the comploter Morton, two of the conspirators, with Bothwell. If to these circumstances, and truths, the historian had adverted, he would not have gone into so long a detail, to prove, that she ought to have adopted the most vigorous proceedings against Bothwell, who possessed a declaration, in writing, from the conspirators, that they would save him harmless, whatever Lennox, could advise, or the Queen could do. The remissness, then, was not in the Queen, but, in the conspirators, who possessed her government. If history be written, from the theory of what ought to be, rather than from the practice of business, as it was done, the narrative may delude, but cannot instruct.

Instead of acting, when Mary could not act against the powerful influence of Murray, Robertson continues to “discover, in all her actions, the utmost partiality towards Bothwell.” “Five days, after the murder,” continues he, “she bestowed upon him the reversion of the “superiority of the town of Leith.” When this grant is admitted to be true, what does it prove? Nothing: The historian did not know, that in the practice of business, during an interested age, none of the casualties of the crown, were ever disposed of, without a contest: In the southern shires, the competition, between Bothwell, and Secretary Maitland, for the grant, was very keen, and, usually, occasioned ill-will, between the competitors. If Bothwell had not been now a conspirator, with those in power, he could not have obtained this grant. Murray, and Maitland, and Morton, knowing the short period of Bothwell’s destiny, would not contest with him what he asked: Bothwell was a guest, at Murray’s table, during the last dinner, which he gave, before he set out for France, on the 9th of April, two months after the murder. The next grant of Mary to Bothwell is said by Robertson, to have been the command of the Castle of Edinburgh: But, as the grant appears not in the records, we may doubt the historian’s assertion, even with the aid of the autho-

rities, which he quotes : Such a grant was never made to Bothwell : and Cockburn of Skirling, immediately, succeeded Erskine of Marr ; as we know from record. The *third* point of the historian is the *remissness*, with which the murderers were sought for, previous to Bothwell's trial : Morton, and Maitland, knew the murderers, perfectly, as they themselves were guilty : And Morton, and Maitland, were the two able, and audacious men, who, with the concurrence of Murray, protected Bothwell, both before, and after, his delusive trial, till his marriage with the Queen, when his contract with the conspirators ended. But, what had the Queen to do with all this ? She knew nothing of the conspiracy, before her ill-fated marriage ; and if she had known it, neither could she then contend, with Murray's faction.* The historian returns, again, and again, and again, to the Queen's remissness, about the

* See Drury's Letter to Cecil, 15th April 1567, giving an account of Bothwell's trial, which Elizabeth endeavoured to prevent : See particularly, how Maitland intercepted Elizabeth's purpose : and pretended, that his mistress was asleep, when the English messenger arrived, at Holyrood house. *App. to Bothwell's Mem.* No. i. The protection of Bothwell, by Maitland, was, *before* the trial, as assiduous, as the protection of Morton, in court, was audacious, as we know from Camden.

trial: She only acted, like every other sovereign, by the instrumentality of her ministers; and they, on this occasion, were the murderers: But, of which she knew nothing; and which is the very point to be proved. “Two days *after* “the trial, in which he was acquitted,” says the historian, “Sixthly, Mary gave a publick proof “of her regard for Bothwell, by appointing “him to carry the sword before her to Parli- “ment:” But, was it the Queen, or Maitland, who placed the sword, in Bothwell’s hands? Was not this done by the conspirators, as a proof of his innocence? Was it not done by them, to facilitate the obtaining of the bond, from the nobles, and prelates, in Bothwell’s favour? Was it not done, by them, to promote their measure of marrying the Queen to Bothwell? Yes: The historian seems to have thought, that by collecting a great many frivolous circumstances into a series, they would amount to circumstantial proof: Before Bothwell’s marriage, he was so ably, and artfully, protected, by Murray’s faction, that it is quite absurd, to attribute that protection to the Queen, personally. “In that Parliament,” says the historian, “Seventhly, *she* granted Bothwell a ratification of all the *vast possessions*, and *honours*, which she had conferred upon him, in which was contained an ample enumeration of all the services,

he had performed :” If Robertson had looked into the accurate record of Parliament, instead of the impure pages of Anderson, he would have seen acts of ratification, by the same Parliament of April 1567, to Murray, Morton, and to many others, as it was a healing Parliament: But, those *acts of ratification* were all drawn, by the Lords of the Articles, and not by the Queen, who knew nothing of their contents: As to *the vast possessions, and honours*, which, the historian says, the Queen had conferred; I would rather remark, that the historian was grossly imposed upon, by Anderson, than that he was, egregiously, ignorant of the fact: The Queen never gave *vast possessions, and honours*, to Bothwell:^h He enjoyed them, by descent, from his father, and grandfather, and great-grandfather. The historian perseveres, in enumerating what he supposes to be proofs against the Queen, *even after* she had been coerced to consent to marry him: He tells a story of Sir James Melville, advising Mary not to marry Bothwell, even after she had been obliged to agree to marry him by force: The historian forgets to tell, that Secretary Maitland reprehended Melvill, for his advice; as it operated

^h See a dissertation on that point, in the *App.* No. ii. to Bothwell's *Memoir*.

against the purpose of the conspirators. It was Secretary Maitland, who was present with her, in Dunbar-castle, for the very purpose of giving her bad advice, who rated Melville, for his impertinence, and not Bothwell. The historian ought to have known, that Melvill's Memoirs ought to be quoted, cautiously ; as the book is greatly interpolated. The historian speaks, ninthly, of the seizure of the Queen, by Bothwell, which he supposes to have been done, with the Queen's own knowledge, and consent : Whatever may have been his authority, whether the forged letters, or any lie of the conspirators, the Privy Council Register, and the Parliamentary Record, containing the attainder of Bothwell, for his treasonous conduct, contradicts the historian, and his obscure authorities ; by considering the seizure, as traitorous, and the abduction, as forcible,ⁱ and the marriage, as coerced. After the Queen was obliged to consent to an enforced marriage, as we learn from Parliament, and not from supposititious manuscripts, it is

ⁱ One of the supposititious letters, No. viii. in Goodall, ii. 41. was written to apply to this very point of the abduction ; in order to prove, that she previously knew of Bothwell's design : But, the act of Privy Council, and the act of Parliament, contradict this letter so strongly, as to evince *its forgery* ; and *the forgery* of one of the letters evinces the forgery of all.

vain, for Robertson, to collect instances, to show, that the Queen was obliged to put the best colour on matters of necessity, which she could not avow, with regard to her intended marriage: The necessity, which drives, must defend: But, he brings no circumstance, after all his researches, which tends to prove her previous knowledge of the murder of her husband, that was the very point to be proved; because she was innocent; and innocence cannot be convicted of guilt.

The historian, at length, goes into various events, which occurred, after the Queen had surrendered to the insurgent nobles, who were commanded, by Morton, one of the King's murderers; after she had quitted Bothwell, and was dethroned; and after her imprisonment in Lochleven-castle, by Morton, and six other conspirators, who had no charge against her: And though the Queen was reduced to great embarrassments; yet the historian cannot prove, that she had any previous knowledge of the murder of her husband: How could Robertson engage to prove this fact, when Morton, and his guilty associates, could make out no charge against her; and were hard pressed, for justification of themselves, from a charge of rebellious insurrection: Morton, and his guilty colleagues, were thereby obliged to rely on

forged epistles ; which they did not find : And Robertson, following their example ; as he could not make out any charge against the Queen, was constrained, after his long enumeration of circumstances, to confine his inference against the object of his prejudice to this mitigated conclusion, that her conduct could not be more repugnant to all the maxims of prudence and decency ; inasmuch as, she married one of the murderers of her husband, by coercion, which she could not resist : This circumstance is a charge against the conspirators, but not against the Queen : This *coercion* was one of the points of treason, for which the Parliament attainted Bothwell ; yet, wherein consists the imprudence, or the indecency of any women, who is obliged to submit to the violence of a ruffian, which she cannot resist ? wherein is the imprudence, or indecency of a woman, who is thus driven, by necessity, refusing to be divorced, from an enforced marriage, if she should think, that such a divorce would bastardize her issue ? The whole turns upon points of female delicacy, of which the historian seems, from his decision, above-mentioned, after failing to prove her guilt, to have been but an incompetent judge.

But, perhaps, he will be more lucky, when he comes to apply his positive evidence, arising from written documents, which he classes under

two heads. The first documents are *Paris's Depositions*. "They are remarkable," says he, "for a simplicity, and *naïveté*, which it is almost impossible to imitate; they abound with a number of minute facts, and particularities, which the most dexterous forger could not easily have assembled, and connected together." And yet those Depositions were undoubtedly forgeries, from Murray's mintage. I have already taken Buchanan, and Wood, in the very act of forging them, in Murray's Castle; and have shown Murray, and Cecil, basely, playing into one another's hands; in order to impose the fraudulent deception on the credulity of mankind. And we now perceive what deceptions are played off, by statesmen, and historians, to delude the world, and calumniate a Queen. Robertson has now recourse, as his second head of written documents, to the notorious letters, from Glasgow, and other places, which had been attributed, by the same knaves, to the Scottish Queen; and which the historian re-echoed by the prejudiced voice of delusive history. It was upon those supposititious letters, and artful management, that Murray's faction dethroned the Queen, and criminated innocence. Robertson first deludes himself, and, secondly, deludes a confiding world, by the most palpable forgeries. But, who would follow such a

devious course of disquisition, to demonstrate letters to be forgeries, the very discovery whereof, with the correlative circumstances, evinces them clearly to have been the abominable work of a faction, which were in the daily habit of such disgraceful works. Yes ; Goodall, Tytler, and above all, Whitaker, have shown, by every proof, that ever detected forgery, those notorious epistles to be self-convicted fabrications.

After bringing such proofs, as cannot be resisted, that the Queen's husband was murdered, by a conspiracy of nobles, particulary, of Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland, and their subordinates, who were all punished, for this traitorous offence, nothing remained, for enquiry, I submit, but the question, whether the Queen knew, of the purpose of that faction to murder Darnley, before the fact committed. To prove, that she did know, and that she did consent, Robertson undertook, by a formal dissertation, to evince : But after a very long enumeration of circumstances, he was obliged to restrict his probation, to imprudence, and indecency : The Dissertator, having thus failed, had recourse to written documents, and immediately involved his disquisitions in the darkness, and disgrace, of the adoption of forgeries, and the ignorance of facts.

Such, then, is the complete failure of Robert-

son's proofs of the Queen's guilty knowledge of her husband's murder! He failed; because it is impossible to convict innocence of guilt. After such a failure, by such a writer, it is time to submit to the reader's judgment proofs of her innocence, with regard to the King's murder.

1. The fundamental proof is, that this odious crime, attended by the basest circumstances, was committed, by a conspiracy of nobles, of whom the most conspicuous actors were, Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland. These three notorious characters, acting with Murray's concurrence, and for his benefit, met, at Whittingham, about the 20th of January 1566-7 to concert the death of Darnley:^k And, these three conspirators, at Whittingham were successively, convicted of his murder. These facts, have been already proved, beyond the power of con-

^k Sir Wm. Drury's letter to Cecil of the 23d of January 1566-7, proves, that Bothwell, and Maitland, came to Whittingham, a few days before, to visit Morton: Archibald Douglas's letter proves the same fact: And Morton confessed on the block, that the object of the visit was to concert the murder of Darnley. Archibald Douglas, who was then present, at Whittingham, attests the same point. Robertson's *Dissertation*, ii. 320; Bannatyne's *Journal*, 494. The indictment of Morton, in Arnot's *Crim. Trials*, attests the same fact of such a conspiracy.

troversy. Those three conspirators, Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland, were guilty of the King's murder; because they were convicted of the crime, by the judgment of Parliament: and the publick records are the proper evidences of their several convictions.¹

¹ See the *Acta Parliamentorum*, v. iii. p. 4, 137, 227, 304: Now; taking the proofs of the conspiracy, together with the records of their several convictions, and no one can doubt, whether they were not the murderers of the King. If the Queen had made good this accusation, says Tytler [Part ii. ch. i.], that the accusers themselves, Murray, Morton, and Maitland, had been in the conspiracy of the King's murder: [This has been now clearly proved:] Then, she herself could not have been in that conspiracy, or guilty of the murder. This, he adds, I take to be consistent with common sense, and reason. And, he subjoins, in a note: Dr. Robertson uses the very same argument, in his vindication of the Earl of Murray, *Dissert.* p. 4. I have, virtually, concurred, in this observation, by showing, that the Queen was the *victim* of the conspiracy. Robertson failed egregiously, in supposing Bothwell, to have acted, *separately*, from Morton, and Maitland: He says, this is probable in itself, is consistent, and solves appearances. [*Dissert.* 318.] I hold this system, considering the then state of the government, to have been quite impossible. Bothwell would have been immediately detected, and punished. But, acting with Murray's friends he was protected, by them, till they married him to the Queen; and thereby implicated her in his fate: Then they made him the scape-goat: and dethroned her. These are the facts; and it is in vain, for Robertson, to reason against them.

But, what evidence is there of the Queen's guilt? The answer must be, that there is none; though there be satisfactory evidence of her manifold wrongs, in the murder of her husband,

2. But, how came the Queen's name to be implicated; since it is never mentioned, in the convictions of the real murderers of her husband? It is quite apparent, that the Queen was included, in the fate of Darnley; as the conspiracy was, originally, detailed, by Secretary Maitland, and approved, by Murray. Bothwell, as a man hated, by Maitland, and Murray, was drawn into this conspiracy, by Murray, at Michaelmas 1566: And, from this epoch, he acted, as a conspirator, against the King, and Queen; but, not as a paramour of the Queen, which is a very different character. Bothwell was induced to act, as a conspirator, by their offering to his ambition the high rewards; in filling the place of the murdered Darnley, by marrying the Queen, and enjoying with her, a participation of the government; yet, was it always understood, by the principal conspirators, that having accomplished all this, he should be expelled; and she dethroned. When the Queen visited Bothwell, in the subsequent month of October, at Hermitage-castle, Bothwell had been then engaged, as a conspi-

rator, but, not as a paramour: Yet, she was not aware of any plot, either against her husband, or herself: And, she was, therefore, innocent. The next step of this nefarious transaction was taken, at the end of the subsequent November, in Craigmillar-castle, by the conspirators, all, except Morton, who was still expatriated, in England, though he was informed of the plot, which comprehended his own pardon. It was, then, and there, that Maitland, in the presence of Murray, with the concurrence of Bothwell, proposed to the Queen a divorce, from her wayward husband, which she refused; which she prohibited. Here, then, is evidence of her innocence; but, of the guilt of Bothwell, in acting with Maitland, and Murray, in this atrocious conspiracy.^m There is sufficient evidence, that then, and there, this plot was finally settled in its details; and that bonds of indemnity were executed, in favour of Bothwell; saving him harmless, from the guilt of Darnley's death; and ensuring to him the Queen's marriage:ⁿ Herein, we see the guilt of the conspirators; while there is nothing to impeach the innocence of the Queen. Bothwell was now, plainly, pushed forward, as the cat's-

^m Goodall, ii. 317, 321.

ⁿ Arnot's *Crim. Trials*, App. No. iv.

paw of the conspirators ; as he was to be indemnified, and rewarded, by the fulfilment of the contract ; and, yet, she was innocent, as she had been coerced, and had no privity.

3. The reign of Mary was a period of conspiracies, of which the Queen, either in her rights, or her person, was the victim. Morton, and Murray, and Maitland, were plotters, from their infancy to their age. The most abominable of all those conspiracies was the assassination of Rizzio, in her closet, in her presence ; Darnley leading the assassins. This plot was so far like the conspiracy of Craigmillar, that there were writings executed, by the conspirators ; detailing the objects, and the ends of the plot. Darnley, and his father, were two of the principal conspirators, and were to be rewarded, with the Queen's sceptre, which Murray's faction was to transfer to Darnley : The expatriated Murray was, by those odious means, to be restored ; and for him, on that occasion, acted Morton, the Chancellor, and Maitland, the Secretary. Rizzio was assassinated ; and Murray was restored : But, Darnley was made the *scape-goat*. He, and his father, had committed treason against the Queen : Yet, did she ever criminate either ? No. She only wished to reclaim her husband, who was irreclaimable : She wished, like other wives, to forget and

forgive : His duty, and his safety, consisted, in grappling her to his heart, with hooks of steel. But, he estranged himself, from court, and from her. At the very moment, when Murray, and his faction, condemned Darnley to the bow-string ; his wife took him to her bosom, and her bed : Who would require additional proofs of their guilt, and of her innocence !

4. The next great scene of Darnley's waywardness, and of the Queen's attention, was the baptism of their son, in December 1566. He acted the simpleton ; and she, like a woman, who wished to please, and a Queen, who knew the world. Murray, and the conspirators, with the aid of Elizabeth, and Cecil, obtained, from the Queen, on that occasion, the pardon of the murderous Morton, with his guilty associates. She was overpowered, by such a concurrence of interests : Darnley alone opposed this act of grace ; and avowed his indignation, by departing from the court, without taking leave, to Glasgow, where the small-pox prevailed ; and, where he was, immediately, infected. The Queen no sooner heard of this misfortune, than she sent her own physician, to care for him.°

° Here is what I hold to be a clear proof of the long letter from Glasgow, being a forgery, Goodall, ii. p. 1-29 : Every one at that town knew, that Darnley had *the small-pox* ; Darnley knew what disease he had ; the physician

We here see the wife, forgetting her vexations, in her fond attention to a perverse husband. Amidst his illness, and perversity, he seems to have felt the Queen's goodness to him. He desired to live with her, as a husband, if she would remove him to Edinburgh. The physician, no doubt, was the agent of their several communications. The King, and Queen, became thus reconciled to each other: And, she brought her husband to a house, which was fitted up, as an infirmary, in the southern suburbs of Edinburgh, *as soon as he could bear the cold air*. In all those attentions of Mary to her husband, can suspicion discover any appearance of guilt? If she had wished to dispatch her vexatious husband, neither design, nor accident, could have furnished a finer opportunity, than his sickness, at Glasgow, while her

knew, that the disease was the small pox; the queen knew, that her husband had been taken ill with the *small-pox*, in Glasgow: Now; the forger of that letter makes the king, and Queen, speak, and write, in this manner: "He declared unto me his sickness, and that he would make no testament, but only leave all things to me; and that I was the cause of his malady, because of the regret, that he had, that I was so strange unto him." [Ib. 5-6.] Here, then, is an allusion to a disease of the mind, not of the body: But, they both knew, that he had the *small-pox*; and thus did the forger make the Queen write *nonsense*.

own physician attended upon him. Yes ; says the historian, gravely, while she remained with Darnley, at Glasgow, the Queen wrote a series of adulterous letters to the conspirator, Bothwell, while he was sedulously occupied, with Morton, and others, in concerting means, for her husband's murder. The fact of Darnley being taken with the small pox, the moment that he entered Glasgow ; the fact, that the Queen, immediately, sent her own physician, to attend on him ; the fact, that the King and Queen were reconciled to each other, before she went to Glasgow ; which are all, as true, as *holy writ* ; and demonstrate, that such letters were never written, by the Queen, but were mere forgeries ; that the historian's credulity, in supposing such letters to be genuine, could only arise, from prejudice, operating upon ignorance.^p

5. On the 31st of January 1566-7, says Birrel, the King, and Queen came to Edinburgh, out of Glasgow, the King being carried, in a chariot, and took his lodging, in the Kirk of Field. In this infirmary, the Queen often visited her husband ; she sometimes slept in the room,

^p The historian did not know, that Darnley had the small pox ; and consequently could not feel the detection of the first letter from Glasgow, as above.

under his ; On Sunday, the 9th of February, she pleasantly entertained him, till a late hour, when she recollected, that she had engaged to give a masquerade to one of her women, on her marriage. When she bade him good night, she kissed him, she also put a ring on his finger, as a pledge of her affection. Only one woman in a million, such as Mrs. Brownrig, of cruel memory, could have treated her husband thus affectionately ; knowing that he was to be assassinated, in a couple of hours ; *So dreadful is the interval, between the birth of plots, and their fatal periods !* Yet ; are there writers so credulous, from the prejudice of their religion, and their ignorance of facts, as to suppose, that the Queen, previously, knew of the murder of her husband.

6. Yes ; says Robertson, this truth may be inferred, from the Queen's remissness, in prosecuting the murderers: But, while he made this conclusion, he did not in the least advert, that the whole government was in the hands of Murray's faction, which were under contract, to save Bothwell harmless, whatever might be his guilt. The Queen shut herself up, in a dark room, within Edinburgh-castle, where she would not see any one ; and where she remained, till her physicians represented to the Privy Council, that if she did not take air, and exercise, and

amusement, her life would be endangered: on the 16th of February, she retired from the gloomy castle to the fine climate of Seaton-house, attended, by her court: And here, she remained till the 7th of March, when she returned to her darksome apartments, in the Castle, in order to receive Elizabeth's condolence.⁹ These representations of the sorrows of Mary, but ill consort with the abominations of Buchanan, when his falsehood represents the sorrowing Queen, as retiring to Seaton, with Bothwell, to enjoy the delights of his sweet society: But, the lies of Buchanan are too outrageous to obtain belief; and recoil upon the character of those, who use them, as proofs.

7. The historian of Mary refers next as proofs of her guilt, to the forged declarations of Paris, by Buchanan, and Wood, to the forged epistles by Maitland. But, facts, the state-papers, the statute-book, will, for ever, reprobate those odious documents, as the most obvious fabrications of fraudulence, that ever deluded a credulous world.

⁹ Kylligrew, the envoy, in his letter to Secretary Cecil of the 8th of March 1566-7, says, "I found the Queen's majesty, in a dark chamber, so as I could not see her face, but by her words, she seemed very doleful, and did accept my sovereign's letter, and message, in very thankful manner."

8. The Queen's marriage with the murderous Bothwell is the last proof of Mary's guilt, which the historian brings forward against her, as decisive of her criminal conduct. But, when the circumstances attending it are examined, this marriage, which was plainly, intended to disgrace the injured Queen, will appear to be no proof of her guilt, though it establishes the baseness of the conspirators. It was foreseen, by Maitland, and Murray, when their plot against the King's life was first conceived, that nothing would so much gratify the ambition of Bothwell, or so much disgrace the Queen, as her marriage to Bothwell, under such circumstances. In order to ruin both, the conspirators Maitland, and Morton, laboured, by every means, to effect it. They obtained the acquittal of that guilty noble, who had acted, merely, as their instrument, and victim. They obtained a declaration of nobles, and prelates, of his innocence, which was mistaken, for an acquittal, by Parliament. Even though a married man, the same nobles, and prelates, declared Bothwell to be the fittest husband, for the Queen. Emboldened, by such declarations, the ruffian arrested the Queen, on the road to Edinburgh; he carried her, by force, to the castle of Dunbar; and he therein obtained her consent to marry him, by durance, and coercion.

For those several points of treason, the Parliament of December 1567 attainted him.^r But coercion, and consent, stand opposed to each other: If she was *coerced*, she did not *consent*; If she did not consent, she did not incur any guilt: And, if she was not guilty, she was innocent. Yet, scandal, and disgrace, she could not avoid; because, the circumstances, attending her imprisonment, and her marriage, were concealed from the world's eye. The Queen's marriage, however, thus conceived, and thus effected, by vicious means, aggravates, greatly, the wickedness, and guilt, of Murray, and his faction: This offence, in itself so heinous, was yet in Murray aggravated, by the motive thereof, which was not malice, or discontent, but an aspiring mind to her crown.

I will follow Robertson no further. I have shown, sufficiently, that his successive attacks upon the Scottish Queen are groundless. He, plainly, knew nothing of the conspiracy of Murray's faction against Darnley, and, incidentally, against the Queen. Still less did he know, that the records of Scotland contain the *convictions* of the conspirators. But, those two facts, of the *previous conspiracy*, and the *sab-*

^r Acta Parl. iii. 4.

sequent convictions of the conspirators, which cannot be controverted, are of such importance, that they confute the historian's whole system, and evince the Queen's innocence. Thus had he still to learn the important point, in the history of Mary's reign, that proving the guilt of those conspirators, also established the innocence of the Queen.*

Robertson's History was followed, in 1760, by Tytler's *Enquiry* into the evidence against the Scottish Queen; with an *Examination* of Robertson's *Dissertation*, and Hume's *History*, in respect to that evidence. Tytler's well

* The decision of many controverted facts in history, says Robertson [*Dissert.* 316.] is a matter rather of curiosity, than of use. They stand detached, and whatever we determine, with regard to them, the fabric of the story remains untouched. But, the facts under dispute [the whole facts relative to Queen Mary's history] are fundamental, and essential; and according to the opinion, which an historian adopts, with regard to them, he must vary, and dispose the whole of his subsequent narration. Had Robertson been alive, I would have laid this passage before him; and said to him explicitly, You have written the history of Mary, in opposition to the whole facts of her story, and contrary to the state of Scotland, in her age; and you are of course bound, to review your work; and to vary, and dispose the whole of your narration, according to the truth. Upon Robertson's principle, I have written the Life of Mary, from a wide view of the State Papers, and publick records.

written work fell into the hands of the late Dr. Johnson, who reviewed it, in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1760, according to his peculiar manner. The notorious discrepancy, between the act of the Privy Council of the 4th December 1567, and the Act of Parliament, which was founded thereon, was thus reasoned, by Johnson: "The difference, between *written*, and *subscribed*, and *wholly written*, gives Tytler just reason to suspect; first, a *forgery*, and then a *variation of the forgery*: It is indeed very remarkable, that the *first* account asserts *more*, than the *second*, though the second contains all the truth; for the letters, whether written, by the Queen, or not, were not *subscribed by her*; And had the *second* account differed from the *first*, only, by something added, the first might have contained truth, though not all the truth; but, as the *second* corrects the *first*, by *diminution*, the *first* cannot be freed from *fraud*."

The rest of his Treatise, continues Johnson, is an endeavour to prove, that Mary's accusers were the murderers of Darnley.^t Through this enquiry, it is not necessary to follow him; only, let it be observed, that if those letters were forged, by them, they may be easily thought

^t This I have now proved, from the State Papers, and the Statute-book, beyond a doubt.

capable of other crimes. That the letters were forged, Johnson concludes, is now made so probable, that perhaps they will never more be cited, as testimonies. Thus far Johnson ! Those letters have since been proved, to be forgeries, by all the means, that have ever been practised, for showing the spuriousness of such fictitious papers : Yet, have the same letters, which carry forgery on the very front of them, been used, by Robertson, as an historian, as if they had never been charged, and convicted of forgery : So rooted is prepossession, and so impenetrable to persuasion is prejudice !

While Robertson, and Hume, slunk away, from *Tytler's Enquiry*, the late Sir David Dalrymple, one of the senators of the College of Justice, ventured out in 1773, with his "*Remarks on the History of Scotland*;" wherein, having persuaded himself, he tried to persuade others, in the face of an act of Parliament,

^u There was a *second* edition of this able work, with considerable additions, in 1767. There was a third edition with a postscript, in 1772. There was a fourth edition, with several additional chapters, and an introduction, in 1790. Hume, the historian, silently retracted some points, in a subsequent edition : But, I do not observe, that Robertson retracted any thing. The royal historiographer "had gone as far as possible, in Mary's vindication, according to his intimation ; but he could not stir an inch further."

“that Buchanan, has given a just representation of the Queen’s conduct, at the Parliament of April 1567 ; namely, that nothing was done in that Parliament, in favour of the reformed religion.*” Sir David was opposed, indeed, by the late Lord Elibank, with counter remarks : But, when a judge of the supreme court, comes out with a statute, in his hand ; saying seriously, that nothing was done, at that Parliament, in favour of the reformed religion, though it renounced all foreign jurisdiction, in matters

* *Remarks*, ch. ix. ; *Acta Parl.* ii. p. 548, “act concerning the religioun.” Contrast with Buchanan’s lie, and Sir David’s inference, the Declaration of the 12th of September 1568, of five-and thirty nobles, and prelates, who then affirmed that, the Queen, by the advice of the three Estates, satisfied the desire of the whole nobility, by an act of Parliament, made, concerning all the points of the religion, in the Parliament holden, at Edinburgh, on the 15th of April, 1567. Goodall, ii. 307. Robertson, i. 404, attributes the passing of the above act, to Mary’s frequent endeavours “to re-establish the Popish religion ;” and he insists, that she was prompted on this occasion, “by the influence of Bothwell over her ;” and for this folly, he quotes Knox. If either of them had consulted the Parliamentary Record, they would have seen, that Archbishop Hamilton, and the bishops, were chiefly the lords of the Articles, who carried through that praiseworthy act : How the Queen, and Bothwell, were to re-establish Popery, by inducing the Parliament to pass an act, renouncing the Papal jurisdiction, the logical historian has not attempted to show.

ecclesiastical ; though it gave toleration to all Christians ; what is it, but bidding defiance to the statute, and to truth ? Looking through the dim spectacles of gross prejudice, he could not consider the statute, but as *temporary* and *provisional* ; He could not believe, that this same statute was re-enacted by the Parliament of December 1567, though he had the Black Acts, before him.¹ “ Whether it has been inserted,” continues he, “ among the Statutes of December 1567, by some favourer of Queen Mary, to show, *how much* she had done, towards reformation ; or by some favourer of Murray, to show *how little*, I will not pretend to say.” There was, certainly, an act passed, on the last day of the session, authorizing the printing of the acts of that Parliament ; and, they were, accordingly printed, by the King’s printer, under the authority of the Clerk Register, Sir James MacGill, who had acted, as one of the assassins of Rizzio, and supported Murray, throughout the successive crimes of his base ambition : Whether the Clerk Register published the act in question, as the enemy of Mary, or as the friend of Murray, or as the officer of Parliament, I pretend not to know.² The act of

¹ *Black Acts*, April 1568, ch. xxxix.

² The same statute was again published, by Skene, in

April 1567, thus claimed, by subsequent Parliaments, as their own, was honourable to Mary, whether as an act of *reformation*, by renouncing all foreign jurisdiction, or as an act of *toleration*, by allowing freedom of worship, in opposition to so many statutes of ancient times.

Sir David's chapter, on "James, Earl of Bothwell," as far as it ascertains the date of his father's death, and intimates Earl James's age, has some value in it. His next chapter on the *Queen's sonnets*, had been of some use, if he had proved, that they were written by her, or not written by her; as, to ascertain truth, is always of some importance: But, he, only, shows how agreeably he can trifle on a trifling subject; yet, without reflecting with YOUNG:

"*Triflers, not even in trifles, can excell:*

"*Tis solid bodies, only, polish well!*"

The satire of YOUNG was thrown away on Sir David's prejudices. In 1784, he set forth, anonymously, *Remarks on the enquiry into the evidence against Mary, Queen of Scots*. When

1597, among the acts of December 1567; as ch. 31, entitled, now, "An act, abrogating all acts contrarie to the Religion:" They would not call it an act of *toleration*; as *toleration* was not very agreeable to the tastes of the Calvinists, and still less to the Knoxites.

he heard, that Whitaker was sharpening his scalping-knife, Sir David, at least, showed his wisdom, in getting, as fast as he could, out of harm's way ; crying out, as he ran, I meant not to fight ! I meant not to offend ! Happy ! had Robertson had the same wisdom : He had not received so many wounds, as an historian, as a writer, as a man !

Meantime, Mademoiselle de Keralio of Paris was much better employed, in writing *The History of Queen Elizabeth*, which, necessarily, contains much of the story, and the misfortunes of the Scottish Queen. This lady was too good an historian, to set up Elizabeth, as the goddess of her worship, or the demon of her hatred. She sets down nought in malice : And, she writes truly, what the occasion required, and the facts will justify. Her sensibility was struck, however, with the misfortunes, the persecution, and the fate, of the Scottish Queen. She has even followed the example of Robertson, in giving a *Dissertation* on the *Letters*, which had been attributed to Mary. (1) The French historian was struck, as the English moralist had been, with the manifest contradiction of the well-known Act of Privy Council, and the Act of Parliament, in describing the letters, so differently, as written, and *subscribed*; and *wholly written* ; and she noticed, particu-

larly, that the insurgents, were so absurd, as to justify what they did, on the 15th of June, by letters, which they afterwards discovered, on the 20th of the same month : But, when it is once known, that Morton, and his associates, were acting a disingenuous, and a guilty part, their gross contradictions, will appear less monstrous : The fact clearly is ; that those letters were neither found, nor forged, at the epoch of her dethronement, when the conspirators, wanted juitification : Her imprisonment was a mere act of brutal, and traitorous violence : Six lords thinking, that they possessed the rights, of the whole peerage, and people of Scotland, without any other justification, or pretence, for so great a revolution, in the government, and laws, to say nothing of its violence, dethroned the Queen. Elizabeth, however, as M. de Keralio remarks, knew of the project of those letters, as early as June ; and she was informed of the whole plan of the conspirators, on the 25th of July 1567, by Throkmorton, her envoy, and spy : She, of course, knew those letters to be forgeries ; and knowing, that they could not bear examination, she refused to deliver them, or even copies of them, to the repeated requests of Mary's Commissioners. M. de Keralio, when she closes this head of her dissertation, exclaims : Truth alone has a right to treat barefaced vice, in this con-

temptuous tone : And yet, she seems not to have known, that the English Commissioners acted, uniformly at York, and Westminster, and Hampton-court, under the sanction of oaths, which they little recollected, in their practice of unfairness. (2) This intelligent writer dwells on the striking circumstance, that neither Sir James Balfour, the governor of Edinburgh-castle, who had the custody of the box, and letters ; nor Dalgleish, the bearer of them ; nor, above all, Paris,^a who had been the original bearer of those letters, from the Queen to Bothwell, were ever examined, concerning their knowledge of such letters, and such a discovery : So that the whole circumstances, on which turned the fame, and fortune of a Queen, were left to depend on the guilty assertion of Morton, the murderer, who was not even asked a single question, upon a discovery of such importance, by the clergy, who attended his last moments, on the scaffold, nor even by the Privy Counsellors : She justly supposes, that such circumstances of neglect, strongly imply the conscious guilt of those, who derived a justification of their mighty crimes, from obvious forgery, and constant

^a The postponement of the examination of Paris till Buchanan, and Wood, could compile a declaration, for him, is a strong proof of forgery in them, and of fallacy, in Morton.

deceit. (3) This intelligent enquirer, after pure truth, considers the various, and successive changes of the language, in those pretended epistles, as so many pregnant proofs of palpable forgery. When she sees the conspirators, who had so strong an interest, taking so much trouble, to translate these supposititious letters, from the Latin to the English, from the Latin to the French, and to the Scotch, she cries out What a tissue of falsehood! And she goes on, to remark, that there can only be but *one truth*, which cannot change: When leading facts, such as the language of letters, are apparently changed, by artificial means, it is, because such facts never existed. (4) The historian of Elizabeth insists, that whether the epistles, which were produced, in evidence, before the English Queen, were copies, or originals; she ought to have retained them, with the box, which contained them; as the means of her own justification, in an affair of doubtful issue, but of real dignity: By allowing the box, and its letters, however, to be carried back to Scotland, and to be lost, when Gowry was executed, clearly, evinces, that she regarded them, as forgeries, which had answered her odious purpose of disgracing the Scotch Queen, before the ministers of France, and Spain. (5) When M. De Kerlio considered the ribaldry of those letters,

and sonnets, in whatever language translated, she reprehended Robertson, who is always ready with an apology for wrong, and who attributes that circumstance to the coarse manners of a reformed age : and she is thus led to insist, with the delicacy of her sex, that in all times, and in all polished society, women have the character of modesty, which nature imprints upon their sex ; there being few women, especially of rank, who are so abandoned, as to add licentiousness of conversation to the license of manners ; the first degree of corruption is, not to blush to oneself, the last degree is no longer to blush to others : From these intimations, this writer was led to conclude, that those notorious letters were, plainly, written, by a man, and not, by a woman. (6) This able historian concluded a well-written dissertation, in this feeling manner : One cannot but consider such observations, as of much more weight, in favour of Mary Steuart, than the oaths of such profligate characters, as Murray, and Morton, and their adherents, which Hume, and Robertson, took as the ground of their defence, and as the proof of the authenticity of the letters, attributed to the Scottish Queen, which she, however, affirmed had been forged, by her adversaries, who were in the habit of forgery, and of crime ; letters, which, containing in themselves, so much

of improbability, of imprudence, and of folly, only afford so many proofs of gross imposture.

By a singular coincidence, Whitaker was now busy on his *Vindication of the same Queen*. From the great superiority of this writer, in all, that constitutes pre-eminence over the former investigators of Mary's guilt, or innocence, in erudition and research, in acuteness of argument, and ambition of eloquence; we might easily suppose, that he would take a very wide range of disquisition, to ascertain the authenticity of facts, and to establish the satisfactoriness of truth.

He investigated, in a preliminary section, the general causes, that contributed to Mary's misfortunes: and he attributes the principal source *to the reformation*, as it was conducted, in Scotland, by falsehood, and forgery, by violence, and tumults, by a disregard of our Saviour's example, and by a contempt of his Scripture, except when it was used, for the special occasion, of promoting an end. It did not, indeed, require the genius, or the ingenuity of Whitaker, to inform us, that every civil war, in whatever age, and whatever country, has the most unhappy influence on the human character: In the civil wars of Greece, and of Rome, of France, and of England, formerly, as well as, more lately, civil conflict, for

whatever cause, had the most deplorable influences on the moral principles, and accustomed conduct of mankind: and showing in the result, that a people more instructed, than others, are much more easily governed, than a nation debased into vice, and reformed into crime, deluded into fanaticism, and sunk into ignorance. Such was the condition of Scotland, he added, when Mary returned to her own kingdom, from France. (2) With such a sea of commotion, Mary may seem, to have been little qualified to contend, either from nature, or education. From a very minute investigation of her real character, he discovered, that she had many qualities of a sovereign; but, wanted the power of action, without which, all other qualities are vain. (3) One great infelicity of Mary's life, consisted, in her having a brother, who was, indeed, a bastard. Without any of the rights of society, he very early aimed, at greatness; and all his aims were very eagerly supported, by Elizabeth, and Cecil, from whose subservience, they expected to govern a neighbour nation: And, when the reformation broke out, in Scotland, with all its wildness, and strength, this illegitimate brother of an absent Queen, closed in with it; put on the sanctified air of a reformer; attached all the popular leaders to himself; and prepared to make them

the useful steps to Mary's throne. (4) But, even all this united could not have been effectual to the Queen's ruin: She had the additional misfortune of having, on a neighbouring throne, a cousin, and a female: England was then governed, by Elizabeth, with Cecil, for her minister: On the most flagitious principles, they engaged in intrigues against Mary: They banded with her ambitious brother, and her seditious clergy: They furnished both with assistance secretly: They lent both their countenance openly: And by those means, Elizabeth, and Cecil, at length drove Mary to look for refuge, in England, which was the ultimate consequence of their previous aims.

Yes; Whitaker bestowed no fewer than three volumes, of accurate research, and of splendid diction, in vindicating Mary Steuart. She was charged, by the same conspirators, who committed her husband's murder, with a participation in his death; and they endeavoured to support their charge, by producing letters, which she is said to have written to their instrument, Bothwell, after her reconciliation with her husband, which, when they were first noticed before the privy council of Scotland, appeared to be written and subscribed by her own hand; yet, when they were mentioned before the Parliament, some days after, appeared to be only written by her: Had such letters been ge-

nuine, they had always appeared the same. It was to repel this charge, by the murderers themselves, that Whitaker wrote his *Vindication*.

The vindicator now gave a minute history of the love epistles even before they were written. The conduct of Morton, the interceptor of them, was wholly mysterious. He had no proof of the fact of his finding them, but the assertion of a notorious falsifier. The differences in their first exhibitions, in the Privy Council, and in Parliament ; being written, *and subscribed*, by the Queen, when they first were noticed, and written only by her, when they appeared the second time, without seals, or superscriptions : Such circumstances have been deemed, by the ablest criticks, as clear indications of fraudulence. But, fraud, and fact, cannot both be true. With regard to those famous epistles, which were thus convicted of forgery, by the very manner of adducing them, Whitaker has bestowed all his attention, and acuteness, all his vigour, and his wit. They were now proved to be forgeries, by all the possible modes of trying them. He, now, examined the external and internal evidence ; their variations in substance, their variations in form, their variations in *words*, and their variations even in *language* ; the history of the conspirators, concerning them, the history of Elizabeth's proceedings, at the conferences, in England, with regard to them.

Their contradictions to facts ; their repugnances to common sense ; their inconsistencies with all chronology, and their violent opposition to themselves, and to each other, all evinced those letters, according to this redoubtable critick, to be forgeries, with an accumulative weight of decisive testimony.

The same research, and the same decisiveness, equally, evince, according to the vindicator, the spuriousness of the *sonnets*, and *marriage contracts*, which have been attributed, by calumny, to the Scottish Queen. They were not found, with the notorious epistles, in the gilt box : The important use, which might be made of such documents, was an afterthought of the conspirators, who had a forger always, at hand, either in Maitland, or Buchanan. Their vulgarity, says Whitaker, is a proof of their forgery ; their strange mixture of falsehood, with fact, is another proof ; their absurdities are another proof ; their contradictions to the letters, and of the letters to them, are still more decisive proofs of their forgeries. Whitaker took a very wide range of enquiry, throughout so voluminous a *vindication*, as three volumes afford ; and, in this range, he, everywhere, finds some forgery to detect, and some misrepresentation to be confuted. But, the true question will, at last, be found, to lye, in a very narrow compass :

The conspirators were themselves the committers of Darnley's murder, with Bothwell, for their tool: and the proper question is, Whether Mary was privy to the concert of Murray's faction, for the King's murder, and her own dethronement? The several convictions of those conspirators being recorded, in the *Acta Parliamentorum*, it becomes nonsensical to enquire, whether the Queen was privy to a plot, of which *she was the obvious victim*. This point has been very fully investigated; and in the result it was clearly shown, that the Queen, and Bothwell, having different objects, could have had no concert; and having no concert, with a positive conspirator, the Queen could have had no privity with the designs, which were to end in Darnley's death, as well as in her own dethronement, for the benefit of Murray, and gratification of the murderers.

The *Vindication* of Whitaker made a great impression upon many people: and from its elaboration, and its length, seemed to preclude all prospect of an answer, which must, necessarily, be still more elaborate, and extended. At the end of a dozen years, however, Mr. Laing, one of the advocates of the learned faculty of law, at Edinburgh, when he published a History of Scotland, in continuation of Robertson's, during the year 1800, engaged to add an inter-

mediate volume, on the participation of Mary, in the murder of her husband; and in 1802, brought out two volumes, which, as they belonged not to his subsequent history, were not called for, by those, who find amusement, or instruction, in such disquisitions: Two volumes of necessary supplement to Robertson's History seem to evince a strong suspicion, in Mr. Laing, that the *Dissertation* of his predecessor, on Mary's guilt, had shrunk away, before the vigorous *Vindication* of Whitaker. This more confident dissertator, however, does not notice that *Vindication*, except, incidentally, on a point, or two, of little consequence: He walked out into the fields of fraud; and gleaned, for the calumniation of a woman, and the arraignment of a Queen, a dozen of forgeries; consisting of love letters, amatory sonnets, marriage contracts, between a married man, and a married woman, with *vitiating state papers*. But, as an advocate, he did not look into the *Acta Parliamentorum*, where he would have seen the several convictions of the chief conspirators, who murdered the Queen's husband, glaring in his unwilling eyes. We may be thus induced, to ask, with Sandys,

“Are you, in favour of his project, bent
Thus, to prejudicate the innocent?”

When the conspirators, who dethroned the

Scotish Queen, began to act against her, we see nothing in their proclamations, but artifice : They soon after produced charges, without grounds, and proofs, without efficacy. In England, as we have seen, the policy was adopted, by Elizabeth's cabinet, knowing the fallacy of those proofs, to disgrace the Scotish Queen, by every mode of calumny, and by every perversion of justice. But, the artifices, and the guilt, of that cabinet, have been, sufficiently, exposed to the eyes of the world, and, abundantly, exploded, by all those, who love truth better than deceit, and detest oppressions, whosoever may be the oppressor, or the oppressed. Since the period of the rival Queens, much has been discovered, and many documents have been published, which have introduced a fresh view of many events, and have, of course, given a new cast to history.

But, what are new discoveries, and new views, to those, who do not write, from a love of truth, so much as for party purposes ? Since the *late Vindication*, the plan of Laing does not consist, in refutation ; does not comport with any direct charge, which would require positive proofs : No : His plan is, to run over the whole life of Mary Steuart, even from her girlish days, till her gray head fell under the guilty axe of Elizabeth. He was, probably, aware, that every

man, as well as every woman, has some failing, or some fault, which they desire not to be exposed to a censorious world: And, of course, they naturally expect, from every rule of charity, and principle of justice, that no one should do that, which he would not suffer. The writer, of whom I am now speaking, has republished a dozen forgeries, which had been decisively exploded, as palpable counterfeits, for justifying a convicted faction, and criminating an innocent Queen: If any other person, than Mr. Laing, had republished so many notorious forgeries, to disgrace a woman, and arraign a Queen, I should have said of him, that he was himself very capable of forgery.

In vain, then, does the writer, under consideration, run over the diversified life of the Scottish Queen, with a malignant pen; as nothing certain, or satisfactory, can be the result, of a calumnious stroke: Such a writer may show his prejudices; but, he cannot establish any probation: He may calumniate; but, without proofs, he cannot criminate. If the general principle be, that every woman, must be deemed innocent, till her guilt be proved: If he have no better evidence, than lampoons, and lies, forgeries and frauds, calumnious reports and malevolent misrepresentations, the Scottish

Queen must be deemed innocent, by the wise, the virtuous, the good.

If truth ought to be the end of all enquiries; if truth be the end of Laing's enquiries; then, the proper mode of ascertaining *the truth* is, to divide this litigated subject into two distinct heads.

(1) Who were the murderers of Darnley?

(2) What concernment had the Queen, in the murder of her own husband?

In answer to the first question, the proper, and the prompt, answer must be, Who but the guilty miscreants, who were attainted, by Parliament, for the crime, and punished, each, according to his peculiar circumstances? — Bothwell, Maitland, and Morton, were all attainted by Parliament, and punished for this specifick murder. The records of their country are the proper vouchers of their treasonous guilt.^b

^b I have already demonstrated, by the satisfactory proofs of state-papers, and the statue-book, that Darnley was murdered, by Murray's faction: I have, actually, taken Morton, Maitland, and Bothwell, in the very act of concerting means, for the King's death: I have established the fact, beyond a doubt, among reasonable enquirers. Now, coupling this previous conspiracy, with the subsequent attainders of the same three guilty miscreants; who can doubt, upon the

(2dly) When Morton, the most audacious conspirator of all the King's murderers, drew his sword, on the 11th of June 1567, he publicly avowed, his object to be, to free the suffering Queen, from Bothwell's violence. When she left Bothwell, on Carberry-hill, and joined Morton's army, he made her a prisoner, though he had engaged to obey her, as his sovereign. When Morton, on the morrow, sent her a captive to Lochleven-castle, he did not charge her with concernment in her husband's murder, he did not charge her with any crime. When from some months consideration, the conspirators found, that some charge must be, necessarily, assigned to the publick, for dethroning her, the conspirators charged her with writing adulterous letters to Bothwell, one of the same con-

first head of enquiry, whether Maitland, Morton, and Bothwell, with their subordinate agents, were not the murderers of the Queen's husband? The very miscreants, who murdered the King, had the additional baseness to charge the Queen with their own guilt; they charged their sovereign, with this murder, before the Privy Council of Scotland; they charged her before the Parliament of Scotland; they charged their sovereign with the murder of her husband, before a foreign sovereign. Beyond their villainy, the greatest wickedness could not go; if we do not except their apologists, who prefer forgery to fact, and falsehood to veracity; who apologize for crime, and arraign innocence.

cert, whom they had made a *scape-goat*: But, the intercepting of these letters, by Morton, and the adducing them in evidence, by him, evince, by the circumstances, attending the interception, and the adduction, a gross imposition, by asserting letters to be found, which were only forged. They, now, charged the Queen, with marrying Bothwell; whence they infer her privy to the murder: But, the marriage was one of the contrivances of the conspirators, themselves, for the Queen's disgrace; it was forced upon her, by the violence of Bothwell, for which he was attainted, by Parliament: If the marriage was induced, by the conspirators, and coerced by the ravisher, what guilt did she incur: what proof does there result, from such a marriage, arising out of such a crime? The answer must be, None. The circumstances, attending such a marriage, took away all pretence of guilt, even in the opinion of Murray's Parliament of December 1567: The marriage only disgraced the Queen, in the eyes, and understanding of those, who were unacquainted with the attendant circumstances of so singular an event, which arose not so much, from accident, as from art.

I will here beg leave to submit to the reader's judgment, as a curiosity, as well as a proof, a letter, from Sir John Forster, Elizabeth's war-

den, on the middle marches;^c giving Sir Francis Walsingham, her secretary, a minute account of Morton's trial:

“ Pleaseth yt your honour to be advertised,
“ that this daye a man of myne, whom I sent,
“ into Scotland, about certain business, is re-
“ turned unto me with certain news, whereof
“ I think my lorde of Hunsdone hath alreadye
“ written unto you: But, notwithstanding, I
“ thought, I could doo no les but advertise your
“ honour thereof; that is, of the deathe of the
“ Earl of Mortone, who was convicted, on thurs-
“ daye, and adjudged, to be hanged, drawn,
“ and quartered, on friday: And, there was xxii
“ articles put against him, but there was none
“ that hurt him except the murder of the king;
“ [The King's advocate departed, from all the
“ charges, except that of the King's murder;]
“ which was layde unto him by iv or v sondrye
“ witnesses: The first is the *lorde Bothwell's*
“ *testament*; the second Mr. Archibald Doug-
“ las, when he was his [Morton's] man; Mr.
“ Archibald Douglas man is the accuser of him,
“ that bare a barrel of powther to the blowing
“ up of the Kinge into the ayre, and that for
“ haste to come away, the said Mr. Archibald

^c From the Harl. MSS. *Brit. Mus.* 6999, No. 97.

“ lefte one of his pantofle [slippers] at the
 “ house ende: and, moreover, he was convicted,
 “ for the speakinge with the lorde Bothwell,
 “ after his banishment, in England, [at Whitting-
 “ ham] before the King’s murder; and then the
 “ consentinge to the murtheringe of the Kinge;
 “ and the bindinge his band of *manerent* [man-
 “ rent] to the said lorde Bothwell: and the
 “ Queynes confession, [declaration] when she
 “ was taken at Carberrie-hill; she said he was
 “ [Morton was] the principall man, that was the
 “ deede doer, and the deviser of that purpose:
 “ Thus having no newes worthie of advertise-
 “ ment to send unto your honour, at this tyme,
 “ I humblie take my leave, att my howse nighe
 “ Alnewicke, the 4th of June 1581.

“ Your honors humble to commande,

“ JOHN FORSTER.

“ *Postscript.*—The man, that brought me this
 “ newes, came from Edenburghe, on Fridaye
 “ last, at two of the clock, and then the said
 “ Earl of Mortone was standinge on the scaf-
 “ fold; and yt is thought, that the accusations,
 “ that were laid against him were verie slender,
 “ and that he dyed very stowtlye.”

It must be allowed, that Sir John did not
 give a very lawyer-like account of this famous
 trial of a very guilty miscreant. We had al-

ready the formal parts of the trial: But, what was, chiefly, wanted were the proofs, which were given in evidence against Morton; and which Sir John supplies. We thus see, that Bothwell's Testament was given in evidence.^d We see, also, that Morton was convicted, for concerting the King's death with Bothwell, at Whittingham, which, indeed, the indictment charges. We perceive, moreover, that Morton had given a bond to Bothwell, to save him harmless, for the murder, which Sir James Balfour seems to have posset: Now, these are two of the points, which I have laboured to prove; because they go to the very heart, and soul, of the enquiry, who murdered Darnley, first, that there was a conspiracy of nobles, who concerted that deed, whereof Bothwell was made the instrument; and secondly, that a bond was given, by the complotters, with Morton, at their head, to save Bothwell harmless, for the murder, and to ensure to him the Queen's marriage.^e

^d Bothwell, when dying, issued a declaration, which was called *his testament*. A copy was sent, by the Danish government to Queen Elizabeth, who suppressed it: But, there were other copies sent to several courts; and one appears to have been given in evidence against Morton, which was probably obtained from Paris.

^e See, also, as supplementary, Moyse's *Mem.* 53-5. See Arnot's *Crim. Trials*, p. 388-92, the Trial of Morton; see,

We are thus led forward to the second head of enquiry, Whether the Queen was privy to the murder of her husband? The deed was not done, by one, but by many; it was committed, by a conspiracy of nobles, with their followers, and not, by one noble: Bothwell acted, as we have seen, as one of that concert, and not by himself: But, was the Queen, privy to that conspiracy, which was kept very secret; and which was clearly intended, to deprive her of her husband, and her crown! The events evince, that her dethronement was one of the objects, which the conspirators had, constantly, in their view, in order to let in Murray to the vice-regal chair. Robertson undertook to prove the Queen's privy to Darnley's death; but, failed egregiously. Laing undertakes to prove the same point: But, he proceeds, throughout, on a *sophistry*, which cannot be granted him; that Bothwell acted, *singly*, and not in the *complot*, with Morton, Maitland, Murray, and others, which has been proved, again and again, beyond a doubt: And, the logick of Laing, of course, proceeds, in reasoning against facts, and in asserting points, in the face of demonstrations;

moreover, the confession of the Laird of Ormiston, who was executed, for the murder of Darnley [*Ib.* 383-88], which confirms the two points mentioned above.

in contemning the records of his country ; and in disdaining shame.

Throughout Laing's Dissertation, it is quite apparent, that little, which is altogether new, and which he avows, indeed, is now brought out, by his researches. But, he, who undertakes, to change falsehood into facts, has a hard task to perform ; and he, who endeavours, to fasten guilt upon innocence, has an Herculean labour to achieve. It required not, certainly, much ingenuity, or invention, to lay before the incurious, old materials new vamped, for illustrating a proposition, which he appears to have taken for granted, *the participation of the Scottish Queen, in the murder of her husband.* This is the very point, which Robertson undertook to prove, as we have seen, yet failed, not for want of zeal, but deficiency of proof : Other logicians, lawyers, and judges, insist, indeed, that guilt must be proved ; as it cannot be presumed. But, does Laing prove that essential fact, any more than Robertson ? No : he talks, generally, he asserts much, yet, proves little ; and this little does not evince, that assertion and proof, fiction and fact, forgery and genuineness, guilt and innocence, are the same, in argument ; are the same in probation. If Laing had had any other object, than to re-echo the scandals of Elizabeth ; or adopt the practice of Cecil,

“ lefte one of his pantofle [slippers] at the
 “ house ende: and, moreover, he was convicted,
 “ for the speakinge with the lorde Bothwell,
 “ after his banishment, in England, [at Whitting-
 “ ham] before the King’s murder; and then the
 “ consentinge to the murtheringe of the Kinge;
 “ and the bindinge his band of *manerent* [man-
 “ rent] to the said lorde Bothwell: and the
 “ Queynes confession, [declaration] when she
 “ was taken at Carberrie-hill; she said he was
 “ [Morton was] the principall man, that was the
 “ deede doer, and the deviser of that purpose:
 “ Thus having no newes worthie of advertise-
 “ ment to send unto your honour, at this tyme,
 “ I humblie take my leave, att my howse nighe
 “ Alnewicke, the 4th of June 1581.

“ Your honors humble to commande,

“ JOHN FORSTER.

“ *Postscript.*—The man, that brought me this
 “ newes, came from Edenburghe, on Fridaye
 “ last, at two of the clock, and then the said
 “ Earl of Mortone was standinge on the scaf-
 “ fold; and yt is thought, that the accusations,
 “ that were laid against him were verie slender,
 “ and that he dyed very stowtlye.”

It must be allowed, that Sir John did not
 give a very lawyer-like account of this famous
 trial of a very guilty miscreant. We had al-

ready the formal parts of the trial: But, what was, chiefly, wanted were the proofs, which were given in evidence against Morton; and which Sir John supplies. We thus see, that Bothwell's Testament was given in evidence.^d We see, also, that Morton was convicted, for concerting the King's death with Bothwell, at Whittingham, which, indeed, the indictment charges. We perceive, moreover, that Morton had given a bond to Bothwell, to save him harmless, for the murder, which Sir James Balfour seems to have posset: Now, these are two of the points, which I have laboured to prove; because they go to the very heart, and soul, of the enquiry, who murdered Darnley, first, that there was a conspiracy of nobles, who concerted that deed, whereof Bothwell was made the instrument; and secondly, that a bond was given, by the complotters, with Morton, at their head, to save Bothwell harmless, for the murder, and to ensure to him the Queen's marriage.^e

^d Bothwell, when dying, issued a declaration, which was called *his testament*. A copy was sent, by the Danish government to Queen Elizabeth, who suppressed it: But, there were other copies sent to several courts; and one appears to have been given in evidence against Morton, which was probably obtained from Paris.

^e See, also, as supplementary, Moyse's *Mem.* 53-5. See Arnot's *Crim. Trials*, p. 388-92, the Trial of Morton; see,

We are thus led forward to the second head of enquiry, Whether the Queen was privy to the murder of her husband? The deed was not done, by one, but by many; it was committed, by a conspiracy of nobles, with their followers, and not, by one noble: Bothwell acted, as we have seen, as one of that concert, and not by himself: But, was the Queen, privy to that conspiracy, which was kept very secret; and which was clearly intended, to deprive her of her husband, and her crown! The events evince, that her dethronement was one of the objects, which the conspirators had, constantly, in their view, in order to let in Murray to the vice-regal chair. Robertson undertook to prove the Queen's privy to Darnley's death; but, failed egregiously. Laing undertakes to prove the same point: But, he proceeds, throughout, on a *sophistry*, which cannot be granted him; that Bothwell acted, *singly*, and not in the *complot*, with Morton, Maitland, Murray, and others, which has been proved, again and again, beyond a doubt: And, the logick of Laing, of course, proceeds, in reasoning against facts, and in asserting points, in the face of demonstrations;

moreover, the confession of the Laird of Ormiston, who was executed, for the murder of Darnley [*Ib.* 383-88], which confirms the two points mentioned above.

in contemning the records of his country ; and in disdaining shame.

Throughout Laing's Dissertation, it is quite apparent, that little, which is altogether new, and which he avows, indeed, is now brought out, by his researches. But, he, who undertakes, to change falsehood into facts, has a hard task to perform ; and he, who endeavours, to fasten guilt upon innocence, has an Herculean labour to achieve. It required not, certainly, much ingenuity, or invention, to lay before the incurious, old materials new vamped, for illustrating a proposition, which he appears to have taken for granted, *the participation of the Scottish Queen, in the murder of her husband.* This is the very point, which Robertson undertook to prove, as we have seen, yet failed, not for want of zeal, but deficiency of proof : Other logicians, lawyers, and judges, insist, indeed, that guilt must be proved ; as it cannot be presumed. But, does Laing prove that essential fact, any more than Robertson ? No : he talks, generally, he asserts much, yet, proves little ; and this little does not evince, that assertion and proof, fiction and fact, forgery and genuineness, guilt and innocence, are the same, in argument ; are the same in probation. If Laing had had any other object, than to re-echo the scandals of Elizabeth ; or adopt the practice of Cecil,

in proving any point, by any means; or to arrogate the ambition of having the last word with the vindicator of the Scottish Queen: Had he wished, to ascertain the important point, which is so pregnant with results, he would have searched the statute-book, for the three several acts of Parliament, which attainted, in succession, Bothwell, Maitland, and Morton, for that odious treason. The records of their several convictions demonstrate the certainty of the fact: As those three guilty conspirators were all convicted of the same crime, they must have all acted in concert: and, acting thus, in conspiracy, they must have jointly proceeded upon the details of a previous plot: Neither did any one of the three complotters act for himself alone, in executing, by the wickedest means, the King's murder, and in obtaining the Queen's marriage to one of the conspirators, and the Queen's dethronement, for Murray's elevation. That the Queen, who was the sad victim of this odious conspiracy, was privy to it, is an absurd proposition, which would require the unerring proofs of holy writ.

But, Robertson, and Laing, who abound in their own conceits, who argue from theory, rather than from facts, and prefer the knaveries of forgery to the veracities of record; endeavour to slide, from under those convictions, by adopt-

ing systems of their own creation ; however inconsistent with the state-papers, and the statute-book. They disregarded the fact, as it is proved, by the records : And they supposed, that Bothwell was the sole murderer of Darnley ; that since he was the Queen's paramour, rather than Murray's conspirator, she must have had some foreknowledge of the crime, which involved herself in ruin, and disgrace. How contrary this supposition is to facts, need not now be mentioned : Is it allowable, in any discussion, to push aside the records of law, and justice : to argue against established facts, on mere supposition ; as Bothwell was not the lover of Mary, but the conspirator with Murray, from whom he expected his reward ? Neither is it, in this place, necessary, to reason the other point, very strenuously, of the ascendancy of Bothwell over the Queen, in opposition to Murray's power ; as Bothwell was, merely his odious tool, in the murder of Darnley, and his scape-goat, in the winding up of the conspiracy, by the dethronement of Mary, and the elevation of Murray. But, Robertson, who knew not the facts of this period of the history, continues to talk, idly, of the ascendancy of Bothwell, rather than the predominance of Murray ; however absurd, the historian's system may be in itself, however groundless, in its facts, and however

inconsistent it is, with the evidence of records : Robertson allowed himself, to be deluded, partly by his own prejudices, and still more, by the falsehoods of Buchanan, and the misreports of Knox.

Neither need it be strongly insisted against Laing, the copyist of Robertson, who is still more perverted, by his greater prejudices, that the conspirator, and the lover, are very discordant characters. Bothwell, as we know, from facts, expected the Queen's marriage, upon more decisive grounds, than ascendancy, or love ; even from the written engagements of the all-powerful faction of Murray : The detail of the conspiracy, and still more its winding up, evince the fact ; which was, indeed, proved, by the dying declaration of Ormiston,^f and by the documents, which were given in evidence, on the trial of Morton.^g And yet, so little influence had his love, or his ascendancy over Mary, when he made his proposal of marriage, that he was obliged to use artifice,^h and force,ⁱ

^f In Arnot's *Crim. Trials*, Append.

^g As we know, from Sir John Forster's letter to Walsingham.

^h The artifice was the obtaining for him the odious declaration of the nobles, and prelates, of Bothwell's fitness, for her husband.

ⁱ By carrying her to his castle of Dunbar.

to accomplish his purpose: Emboldened, by that declaration, Bothwell arrested the Queen, on the highway; carried her forcibly, to his castle of Dunbar; and therein obliged her, by coercion, to consent to marry him.^k Still following his system, Laing, in imitation of his predecessor, pushes aside the Parliamentary record, as the best evidence of those conclusive facts, and disregards the Parliamentary judgment, as the genuine award of justice upon the noble comploter. But, the dissertator, that could do this, is beyond the power of proofs,

^k Melvill, who was present, in Dunbar-castle, assures us [*Mem.* 79-80.] “On her majesty’s coming back from Stirling to Edinburgh, the Earl of Bothwell rencountered her [on the 24th of April 1567] with a great company, and took her horse by the bridle, his men took the Earl of Huntley, Secretary Maitland, and me, and carried us captives to Dunbar: There the Earl of Bothwell boasted he would marry the Queen, who would, or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not.” The bishop of Ross concurs, in this representation [*Defence*, p. 16-17.] Secretary Maitland was in the secret of this outrage; and attended the Queen, to betray her. There is some reason, to think, that Huntley had been gained to Murray’s purpose. The act of Privy Council, 21st July, at the head of which was Morton, asserted the same three facts; the arrest, the abduction, the coercion. The Parliament of December 1567, attainted Bothwell of treason, which the Parliament grounded on those *three facts*. *Acta Parl.* iii. 4.

and sets common sense, and publick opinion, at defiance. Enough has been said, and, perhaps, more than enough, to show the spirit of the dissertator, and the practice of the partizan, when he exerts his best powers, to criminate a woman, and to arraign a sovereign. Yes; the dissertator does bring one charge against the Queen, from record evidence, which it may be worth while to answer, though this solitary instance evinces, that he had consulted the record, but without much success.¹

The train of proofs, for detecting the vast body of forgeries, which were practised, under Murray, in Scotland, and by Cecil, in England, may be adequately confirmed, by adverting to

¹ The dissertator states, [*Dissert.* 33.] that Alexander Durham, the King's servant, who was accused of "betraying his master, was rewarded by Mary, five days after Darnley's death, with a pension, and a place." For this fact, he quotes the Privy Seal Record, 15th February 1567, when Durham was appointed Master of the Wardrobe to the Prince, with a yearly salary of £100. Scots. The Queen only knew, that Durham had been her husband's chamberlain, without knowing, who had wronged her husband: But, it is singular, that after Durham had been accused of betraying his master, he should have been rewarded, by Murray, with the office of master of the household to the regent. [Durham was master of the household to the regent Murray, in April 1568. [*Treasurer's Accounts.*:] And the same Alexander Durham was master of the household to the regent Mar, who was Murray's uncle, in July 1572. [*Id.*]

the constant practice of calumny, in both those countries, for disgracing the Scottish Queen. The age of Mary was a period of credulity, when design, constantly, practised on ignorance. The Huguenots of France did justice to her virtues, by their silence, while she remained among them. But, the moment, that she avowed her purpose to return to her native kingdom, was, also, the epoch of slander: Her great infelicity, or her usual fault, was her religion, which was considered, by the uncharitable among the reformed, as a crime. The very appearance of the Queen, within her kingdom, brought with it, according to the fanaticism, or folly of Knox, *dolor*, and dismay, as well as great dissatisfaction, and little charity. The Scottish clergy of the reformed order were not learned, and were but little acquainted with the benign spirit of Christianity: They copied more the furious practice of their apostle, than they followed the beneficent example of their Saviour: And hence that practice of censoriousness, which prompted the habit of scandal: It was from this circumstance, that the common opinion, respecting the Queen, was quite contrary to the state of facts, and the unquestionable truth. There was another source of calumnation, which was full as prevalent, and pernicious, as the common talk of the clergy. The faction of Murray,

with his pensioned writers, gave a malignant turn to every action of the Queen's life: and those daily suggestions were adopted, as so many truths, by the people, whose traditions passed into popular history: There cannot be a fact more certain, or better established, than that the Queen's husband was taken ill of the small-pox, at Glasgow, about Christmas 1566, when the Queen sent him her own physician; and yet was it given out, by Murray's faction, that he was poisoned: Thus did this fiction pass into popular tradition, and contemporary history; so that the late historiographer royal could not ascertain, as he avows, what the king's disease, really, was: Among other contemporary writers, who said, that the king had the small-pox, was Blackwood, counsellor of the Presidial Court of Poitiers, a scholar of great eminence, a lawyer of profound knowledge, who had the fact, no doubt, from the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Queen's ambassador, at Paris: And we have lately had Mr. Laing to assure us, that of all the contemporary liars, Blackwood was the greatest: Whether Blackwood, or Laing, were the profoundest jurists, or most distinguished writers, we may infer, from the high character, given to Blackwood, by the Lord Chancellor Egerton; and which of them were the most veracious writer, recent experience must de-

cide. To all those causes of calumniation, may be added the conduct of Darnley, unlearned, unmannered, untoward, as he was, that gave too much cause for censoriousness to represent, and scandal to propagate.

The English statesmen stuffed their letters with much misrepresentation of the Scottish Queen, in order to please the envy of Elizabeth, and to gratify the hate of Cecil. After Mary's marriage with Darnley every domestic concernment of the King and Queen, was set down in malice, and was heightened into exaggeration, in the recital. When the catastrophes of the King, and Queen, advanced towards their consummations, the statesmen of both the contemninous kingdoms, were perfectly aware of the efficacious power of calumniation, for producing great results. In Scotland, during that reign, the censoriousness of preaching, the slander of conversation, the lampoon of writing, were all used against the Queen, with extraordinary effect. In England, when the imprisonment of the Scottish Queen was resolved on, the ablest statesmen gave it as their clear opinions, that such a measure, violent and illegal as it was, could not be justified, unless she were completely disgraced, by every "calumnious stroke." It was, indeed, the solid remark of SOUTH, that, "no vaillainy, no flagitious action,

was ever yet committed, but a lie was first, or last, the principal engine, to effect it."

The statesmen of Scotland, during that shocking period, were altogether governed, by that practical maxim. Murray was wholly ruled, by Cecil's principles, that to gain his ends, any means were justifiable. Secretary Maitland, whose foresight seldom deserted him, had a lie always on his tongue, and a forgery, constantly, at the point of his pen. We may see proofs enow of this, in the *blood-bolstered* events of Mary's reign.

When the Scottish Queen was dethroned, and imprisoned, by six nobles, with Morton at their head, they had neither any charge against her, nor any document, to support a charge of murder, or adultery. Those noble insurgents were not provided, with any adequate pretence, to justify such a treasonous act, as the dethronement of their sovereign. The clergy of Scotland, with as little information, concerning any charge against their Queen, gave it as their opinion, as we know, from Throckmorton's letters, that she ought to be put to death; because they believed, without reason, that she had been guilty of infidelity to her husband; and believing this falsehood, as a fact, they naturally supposed, that she must be guilty of murder: Such was their credulity; such was

their belief in lies ; such was the influence of lampoons upon their spirits !

When the Scottish clergy thus thought, and thus acted, upon such idle motives, how did the Scottish laity think, and act, on the same motives ? They joined in the cry of punishing the innocent victim of those calumnies. The chiefs of the conspirators, like Elizabeth, and Cecil, made use of their own scandals, to carry into effect their ulterior objects. They soon after compelled the calumniated, and imprisoned Queen, by violence, and falsehood, and threats, to resign her sovereignty to her son, and her sceptre to her bastard brother. After verbal slander had produced such great effects, the supposititious letters of Mary to Bothwell were forged, to warrant her dethronement, to justify the coerced resignation of her crown, and to induce the Parliament, to legalize such treasons, such violences, such revolutions. But, what sort of men was the Privy Council composed of, when there was not one person in it, that had sense, and spirit to ask, who verifies letters, which are said to have been written, and signed, by the Queen's own hand ? The answer must be, They were Murray's faction. Nor was there any examination, how such letters were found. The Lord Morton, who was an assassin, a traitor, and a falsifier, said, in-

deed, that he had intercepted a box, with those letters, in the hands of one Dalglish, a servant of Bothwell; carrying them, from Sir James Balfour, in Edinburgh-castle, to his master, in Dunbar-castle. Was Dalglish examined, when he was before the Privy Council, only six days, after the epoch of the discovery? No: Was Sir James Balfour, who was present, in the Privy Council, when those letters were talked of there, examined? No. What must have been the credulity, and the folly, which, under such circumstances, could believe, that a married Queen could have written, and subscribed, such letters, to a married man, who was in a conspiracy against her husband, and herself? It supposes great confidence of audacity, in Murray's agents, to expect, that such letters would be attended to, upon the mere assertion of such a miscreant, as Morton.

That there were some whispers, in the Privy Council, of doubts, concerning the genuineness of such letters, we may easily suppose. When the supposititious letters of Mary were mentioned in Parliament, ten days afterwards, the same epistles had lost their subscription of the name of Marie R. by some act of *necromancy*, no doubt. Yet, guarded as they were, by that enchantment, they were not quite safe, from the tempests of criticism, Mr. Laing, in his wis-

dom, remarks, however, that the argument founded on such a change, is but very weak: And yet, the late Dr. Johnson, in the acuteness of his criticism, observed, that the change from written, *and subscribed to written*, only, is of great importance; as it establishes some fraudulence; and such a fraud operates, as a gangrene, which corrupts the whole system of forging such letters, for supporting the violence, and wickedness, of Murray's faction.

The state-papers evince, that Cecil, and Elizabeth, were fully acquainted, with all those circumstances of calumnation, and forgery. The very long epistle, which Mary is said to have written, in January 1567, from Glasgow, to Bothwell, while he was busy, in collecting men, and means, for committing the murder of her husband, still remains in the paper Office, done into English, from the Scottish, for the gratification of Elizabeth's passion, for slander. In the same office, there are some other specimens of those delicate epistles, the obvious effusions of Maitland's mind, which were, also, done into English, and marked with the pens of Cecil, and Elizabeth. *Veritas non recipit magis ac minus*: A document must be either *true*, or *false*. If Mary wrote those supposititious letters, in the vulgar language of her country, as we see them, in Goodall; the same

letters could not be, also, original, and genuine, in the English, in the French, and in the Latin : They were produced, in the original Scottish, to Elizabeth's Commissioners, at York : They were laid before her Commissioners, at Westminster, in the original French, as the genuine letters of the Scottish Queen. Elizabeth refused to show those letters to Mary, who would have, easily, detected their spuriousness. But, the guilt of Elizabeth consisted, in this, that she made the Murrays, and Mortons, and their complotters, swear, that those French letters were, indeed, the genuine letters, in the Queen's hand, and sent, by her, to the conspirator Bothwell : But,—

“ Must virtue be preserved, by a lie ?

Virtue, and truth, do ever best agree.”

Yet, may it be remarked, how often, indifference, or friendship, or folly, acknowledge a falsehood, rather than ascertain the truth. There is too much of this practice, in Holinshed's Chronicle, as he derived his information of verity, from Thynn, or falsehood from Buchanan. In the same spirit is Spottiswoode's History written : *Write the truth and spare not*, said King James, to the Archbishop : Yet, do we see, in this uncritical historian, too many examples, from Buchanan, how often *malice bears down truth*. In Jebb's Life of the

Scotish Queen, we may perceive pages of falsehood admitted, when a little enquiry would have enabled him to discover the ugliness of falsehood, from the comeliness of truth. Something of this spirit may be traced in the *History of Mary*, by Dr. Thomas Robertson, of Dalmeny. Little did those biographers advert, what injustice they did to her, and injury to themselves, by acknowledging some points, in her story to be true, which were false in their facts, and calumnious, in their inferences. But, such are the pestilential effects of calumny, when scattered with profuse, and malignant pens, that neither indifference can see, nor friendship detect, the obvious difference, between falsehood, and truth. It is, however, some consolation to reflect, that though **VERITY MAY BE OBSCURED, FOR A TIME, IT CANNOT BE EXTINGUISHED.**

SUBSIDIARY DOCUMENTS.

No. I.—*Of the Queen's Visit to Earl Bothwell at Hermitage-castle.*

As the Queen's journey to Jedburgh, the shire-town of Roxburgh, has supplied Buchanan, and Robertson, with a thousand calumnies; it has been deemed proper to subjoin, in this place, such facts, and circumstances, from the records, as are curious, in themselves, and will explode those calumnies:—

August 2, 1566. At Alloa, the King and Queen, in Council, declared their purpose, to hold a *Justice-air*, at Jedburgh: But, this declared intention, by various avocations, was prevented, from being executed, 'till the beginning of October.

Sept. 30. Oct. 3. Murray gained over Bothwell to his views against Darnley.

Oct. 2 and 3. The Earl of Murray, and Secretary Maitland, wrote, from Edinburgh, letters to Secretary Cecil.

6th. A Privy Council met, at Edinburgh, wherein sat James Earl of Bothwell.

7th. Bothwell, who was the Queen's lieutenant, on the borders, went, from Edinburgh, to Lidisdale, or perhaps the evening before.

8th. He was sore wounded by John Elliot of the Park, who had some right to the possession of Hermitage-castle.

8th. The Queen went out of Edinburgh; to hold a *Justice-air*, at Jedburgh, with her whole Court, and officers of Justice. [Birrel's *Diary*.]

10th. She held a Privy Council, at Jedburgh. [*Privy Council Register*.]

11th. She held another Council, at Jedburgh. [*Id.*]

15th. She was still, at Jedburgh. [*Id.*]

16th. The Queen went to visit her lieutenant, at Hermitage. [*Privy Seal Reg.* xxxv. 77.] This authenticated fact demonstrates the falsehood of Buchanan, with the follies of his copyists.

It ought to be here recollected, that from the end of the preceding September, Bothwell had become one of Murray's faction; and was a conspirator against Darnley, at the time, that the Queen paid him a visit, on the 16th of October: And from that time, Bothwell continued to act, as one of Murray's faction.

Mem. In every question, concerning the gallantry of Bothwell, it ought to be remembered, that Bothwell, on the 22d of February 1565-6, married Lady Jane Gordon; a circumstance this, with which the Queen was perfectly aware; but, she was not aware, that Bothwell had entered into a plot with Murray against the King, on the 1st of October, a few days *before* he set out, for Hermitage-castle, on the 7th of October 1566.

It may be of importance to examine a little how far Buchanan's Journal, with regard to the Queen, and Bothwell, agrees with the notices of the Records.

Nov. 5, 1566. The Queen and Bothwell came to Kelso; and there abode two nights.	Nov. 5, 1566. At Jedburgh, there were present, in the Privy Council, the Earls of Murray,
---	---

Bothwell, *Athole*, *Roths*, *Ross*, and *Orkney*, with the officers of State: and several private causes were decided, there, in which the Warden of the Marches, *Sir Walter Kerr*, was plaintiff. [*Privy Council Reg.* of that date.]

Nov. 7. They came to *Langton*.

Nov. 9. They came to *Wedderburn*.

Nov. 10. They came to *Coldingham*; where the lady *Reres*, and her company, were taken, by the watch.

Nov. 10. The Privy Council sat at *Kelso*; and decided a privy complaint. [*Id.*]

Nov. 19. Mr. Secretary *Maitland*, who was present, during the Queen's whole excursion, gave the following account of her journey homeward: The Queen being convalesced, departed from *Jedburgh* and came first to *Kelso*; whence, after she had there passed two nights, she went to *Home*, and in the way visited *Wark*: From *Home*, where she remained two nights, she passed to *Langton*, and *Wedderburn*; and there took purpose, to visit *Berwick*: and, upon the 15th, she passed thither, accompanied by 800, or 1000 horse: *Sir John Forster*, Lord *Bedford's* deputy, came and met her, at the bound-road, with the captains, and honest men of the town; amounting to 60 horse, and doing her all manner of honour, convoyed her to *Aymouth*: From this, resting one night, at *Coldingham*, she came to *Dunbar*; and from that to *Tamtallon*; passing forwards to *Craigmillar*. [*Keith*, 353-4.]

Nov. 12. They came to *Dunbar*, where they staid two nights.

Nov. 16. She came to *Tamtallon*, the laird of *Basses*.

Nov. 17. They both [the Queen and *Bothwell*] returned to *Craigmillar*; and began

Nov. 18. From *Dunbar*, the Queen wrote to the Privy Council of England. [*Ib.* 364.]

to reason upon the divorce, between her and her husband: and, there abode to the 23d of December: In this time, the King came, from Stirling, and offered himself to her; and was repulsed.

Nov. 18. The earls of Huntley, Bothwell, Murray, and Secretary Maitland, wrote a joint letter to Secretary Cecil, from Dunbar, where the Queen, and her Council still remained. [*The original is in the Paper Office.*]

Nov. 23. The Queen with the Earls of Huntley, and Argyle, Bothwell, and Murray, and other courtiers, returned to Craigmillar; as we may infer, from the Privy Seal Record.

Nov. 26. The King returned to see the Queen, says Le Croc, in his letter; and the day before yesterday [30th Nov.] he desired to speak with me half a league from Edinburgh.

But, of such comparisons of the *falsehood* with the *fact*, enough! The abominations of Buchanan are sufficiently apparent: But, what shall we say to the Earl of Murray, who knew the truth; yet gave such falsehoods in evidence!

Oct. 17, 1566. The Queen was taken ill.

25th. Bothwell first appeared, in Council, at Jedburgh.

28th. The King came, from Glasgow, to visit the Queen; and remained one night.

From the 9th Oct. to the 8th Nov. The Queen, and her Court, remained, at Jedburgh.

The following notices are so many charges, in the Treasurer's Accounts; being taken, from his Books, which still remain, as of Record.

Oct. 17, 1566. To ane boy passand off [from] Jedburgh with an mass of writings of our Soveranis to the Earl Bothvile - - 6sh.

31st. By the Queen's command bocht ane boll of keipit meill, four stains of cheis; and 3 horse providit, to truss [carry] the same to the *Armitage*, with utheris necessaris - - - 24 *sh.*

By the Queen's precept, to Maister John Balfour; to *gif the pure, in Jedburgh* - - £20

Nov. 30th. For expenses maid upon the lordis compositours, in Jedburgh, fra the 9th day of October to the 8th day of Nov. inst. as the diat buke beris £728 6 2

Item to the Justice General, fra the 9th October to the 8th Nov. £3 a day - - £90

Item to Sir John Bellendene of Achinoule, Kt. Justice Clerk, for his ordinar and clerks, remaining at the *Airs of Jedburgh*, fra the 9th day of October to the 8th of November inclusive, 31 days, ilk day, to himself and clerks 40 *sh.* - - - £62

Item to the dempster in Jedburgh - 43 *sh.*

Item for the mail [rent] of the Lordis Compositouris hous, in Jedburgh, to the Lady Phairnihirst £40

Item to [by] the Lordis Compositouris command to John Hume *playar upon the lute* - 40*sh.*

Item at the Lordis Compositouris command to James Heroun player upon the pipe and quhissill £4

Item to 20 apill garnattis and 6 Sidronis brocht furth of Edin^r. to Jedburgh to the quenis grace, her majestie being seik, for the tyme, [Drugs] - - £3 13

Item payments to several boys, for passing with "close" writings of our soveranis" to the Countesses of Eglen-toun and Sutherland, the Ladies Levingstoun, and El-phinstoun, to the Countesses of Crawford, Athol, Cassillis, and the Ladie Drummond; and to the Ladies Seytoun, and Bothwick. [Inviting them to the baptism of her son.]

Dec. 28th. To ane boy passand off Striveling with
close writings of our sovereign to the *Erl of Murray*, in
Sanct-androis - - - 12 sh.

No. II.—*Proofs of Mary's Reconcilement to Darnley,*
before she set out, to bring him, from Glasgow.

Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio est.

The falling out of lovers is the renewment of love.

1. WHEN the Queen heard of her husband having been taken ill, soon after his arrival, at Glasgow, she sent her own physician to take care of him; as we know from the Earl of Bedford's letter of the 9th of January 1566-7 to Secretary Cecil. These facts evince how ill-informed Robertson was, when he talked, idly, of the Queen's "neglect of him, when his situation rendered it most necessary." [*Hist.* i. 407.] Having a young child, she did better, than visit her husband, who had taken the *small-pox*; she sent *her own physician*.

2. Bishop Lesley, who knew the Queen's secrets, and was worthy of knowing them, says, expressly, that the Queen, hearing of her husband's repentance, was fully reconciled to him, and hastened to comfort him, as soon as she, conveniently, could, at Glasgow. [*Defence*, 1569, p. 7.] This fact, of positive reconcilement, is much stronger evidence, than the mere inference, which Robertson, and Laing, draw, from the Queen's letter of the 20th of January 1566-7, in Keith's Preface, which is only evidence of her vexation, on hearing rumours of the design of Darnley, and Lennox, to proclaim her son,

which, upon examination, she found to be groundless. But, it does not prove, that a wife, hearing of the repentance of her husband, who wished to see her, remained inexorable, even at the moment, that she became reconciled to the husband, from whom she had refused to be divorced: The Scottish historians seem to have thought, contrary to the experience of daily life, that the quarrels of husband, and wife, like the disputes of polemicks, remain irreconcilable for ever.

3. The declaration, which the French envoy, Le Seigneur Clernault, made, at Berwick, on the 12th of February 1566-7, only two days after Darnley's death, is quite clear, that the Queen and King were reconciled.

“ Le seigneur de Clernault, par la nouvelle quil a apportee de la mort de roy descosse dict, que le dict s^r roy estant loge en ung des boutz de la ville de Lislebourg, et la royne a lauttre, las dame le vint veoir ung dimanche au soir, qui fut le ix^{me} de ce mois, environ les sept heures avec tous les seigneurs principaulx de sa court, et la apres avoir este environ deux ou trois heures avec luy, se retira pour aller en une nopce de quelquun de ces gentilhombres ou elle avoit promis, et sans laquelle promesse, il est a croyre quelle fust demouree jusques a minuict ou une heure, veu la bonne intelligence et union, en quoy las dame et las s^r roy viuoient depuis trois sepmaines, cestant venue a las nopce ny arresta pas longuement dautant que pour avoir beaucoup demoure, et quil se faisoit tard ung chũn commancoit a se retirer, Qui fut range que ladicte dame sen alla coucher, Environ les deux heures apres minuict ou ung peu apres on ouyt ung tres grand bruict comme si on eust tiré une vollee de vingt cinq ou trente canons; de facon que ung chũn sen esueilla

et ayant envoye las dame pour scavoir dou venoit tel bruict, on suivit toute la ville, en fin on vint jusques au logis dudict s^r roy, lequel on trouva toutallement raze, puis cherchant ou se pourroit estre le trouverent a soixante ou quatre vingtz pas de la dicte maison mort et estandu en ung jardin, aussi ung vallet de chambre et ung jeune paige:

“La chose estant rapportee ainsi a ceste pauvre princesse chũn peult penser en quelle peine et agonie ou elle sest trouvee, mesmes que telle malaventure est advenue au temps que sa ma^{te} et le roy estoient au meilleur mesnaige que lon pouvoit desirer, de sorte que le dict s^{re} de Cler-nault, la laissee affligee autant que le peult estre, une de plus mal fortunees roynes de ce monde, on sest bien aperceu que telle malheureuze entreprise procedoit dune mine soubz terre; toutesfois elle na point encores este trouvee, encores moins scait on qui en est lauthere.” [*From the Pap. Off. New Series, No. 17.*]

4. Nelson, in the evidence, which he gave before the Queen, and Council, of England, states several facts, which evince the reconciliation of the Queen, and King. [Goodall, ii. 243.]

5. The continuator of Knox speaks, very explicitly of this sudden change, and reconciliation, of the Queen, and King. [Knox, *Hist* 404.]

From all those proofs, it is quite clear, whatever Robertson, and Laing, may infer, from a document, which does not apply to the point, that the Queen was reconciled to her wayward husband, when she set out, to bring him, from Glasgow to Edinburgh; and continued, in amity with him, till the moment of his death.

From those proofs of the King, and Queen's, recon-

cilement, it should seem to be impossible, that she could have written, the coarse, and abominable letters, from Glasgow; it is equally impossible, that she could have entered into a conspiracy against her husband, though she had heard it rumoured, that Darnley, and his father, had entertained thoughts of a conspiracy against her.

No. III.—*Proofs of the Time, when the Queen went to Glasgow; to bring Darnley to Edinburgh.*

IN history, as well as in jurisprudence, the best possible proof of the point, in question, ought to be required, and given.

On the 20th of January 1566-7, says Birrel, in his Diary, the Queen departed out of Edinburgh to Glasgow to visit the King. But, the Queen's letter to her ambassador, at Paris, on the same 20th of January, which is printed in Keith's Preface, evinces that Birrel is mistaken. "On the 21st of January," says the feigned and falsified Journal of Buchanan, and Murray, "the Queen took her journey, to Glasgow." [Anderson's *Col.* ii. 271.] Robertson adopts this authority, though he seems ashamed to quote, so fictitious, and false, a paper, and of course, he writes, credulously, as well as, calumniously, throughout the whole narrative of Darnley's sickness, and Mary's journey, to visit him. [*Hist.* i. 407-8.] But, she, undoubtedly, remained at Edinburgh on the 22nd of January; as we know, from documents, which were signed, by her, at Edinburgh, on that day. *Privy Seal Reg.* xxxvi. 44, and *Ib.* fol. 114, which were both quoted, by Goodall, i. 122. I have discovered two other Records, which speak to the same point: There

are several other deeds, which were signed, by the Queen at Edinburgh, on the 24th of January, in the same record, fol. 34, and 94; and in the *Register of Signatures*, Book ii. : And those two registers, thus concurring, in the registration of the same facts, establish the truth, beyond a question, that the Queen was still, at Edinburgh, on the 24th, doing the publick business. If the records, then, be, incontrovertible, as the proper vouchers, for the truth; then, must the deeds, remaining of record, evincing, that the Queen signed such documents, and other publick instruments, at Edinburgh, on the 24th of January, be acknowledged to be decisive proofs of the mere fact, whether the Queen were, at Edinburgh, or at Glasgow, on the 24th of January. If Robertson, and Laing, after all their enquiries, prefer fiction to facts; if they would rather quote an evident forgery, than unerring records, they must be left to their reveries. If the judges of the land will not, on questions of right, allow lawyers, to impeach the authenticity of records, are factious writers, and fictitious historians, to be allowed, to vilify what they cannot disprove?

As the Queen, indeed, usually travelled, after dinner, she may have set out, from Edinburgh, on the afternoon of the 24th of January, and reached Linlithgow, in the evening; and on the morrow, have arrived, at Glasgow, in the afternoon of the 25th of January. This examination is of great importance, to the truth of history, as well as to the innocence of the Queen: For, if the records be true, the Queen could not have been, at Glasgow, on the 22nd, the 23d, or 24th of January 1566-7, when she was at Edinburgh, on the same days: And so, could not have written, from Glasgow, the letters, which

have been imputed to her : And thus do those records evince the forgery of those letters, by establishing an *alibi*, as well as the Queen's innocence, if an *alibi* be incontrovertible proof.

Now ; if the Queen was reconciled to her husband, *before* she went to Glasgow to visit him ; then, are the letters, which were said to be written, from Glasgow, to Bothwell, forgeries.

If she remained, at Edinburgh, on the 24th of January 1567, then, are the same letters, which are said to be written, by her, from Glasgow, on, or before, that date, certainly, forgeries.

No. IV.—*Of the Examinations, and Depositions, of William Powrie, George Dalglish, John Hay younger of Tala, and John Hepburn of Bolton.*

1st. THE deposition of William Powrie in presence of the “ Lords of Secret Council ” at Edinburgh the 23d June and 3d July 1567. [In Anderson's *Coll.* ii. 165-173.]

2d. The deposition of George Dalglish, in presence of the Earls of Mortoun and Athol, the Provost of Dundee, and the Laird of Grange, at Edinburgh, the 26th June 1567. [*Ib.* p. 173-177.]

3d. The deposition of John Hay, before the Regent and Council, at Edinburgh, the 13th Sept. 1567. [*Ib.* p. 177-183.]

4th. The deposition of John Hepburn, before the Regent and Council, at Edinburgh, the 8th December 1567. [*Ib.* p. 183-188.]

Powrie, and Dalgleish, were the menial servants of Bothwell; and Hay, and Hepburn, were his followers, and the last his relative. Their depositions run almost entirely on the execution of the deed, and contain little or nothing about the previous intrigue, which it was not the purpose of those, who managed their examinations, to disclose. Hay, and Hepburn, state that the matter was communicated to them by Bothwell, a few days before the execution. Hepburn deposes, that Bothwell opened the matter to him in this manner, “Thair is ane purpose devisit amongs some of the noblemen, and myself amongs the rest, that the kinge sall be slane, and that every ane of us sall send twa servandis to the doing thar-of:” And he desired Hepburn to be one of the enterprisers for him, &c. [Anderson, ii. 183-4.]

There is another passage, in Hepburn’s deposition, which tends to prove, that the Queen was *not* an accomplice of Bothwell, or under his management, in this deed: Hepburn deposes that on the night of the deed, when they were employed, in carrying in the powder, and preparing matters, Bothwell came out, and asked if all was ready, “and *bade them haist, before the Queene come furth of the kingis house, for gif she come furth before thay ware reddy, thay wald not find sic commodity.*” [Anderson, ii. 185.] Now, if the Queen had been in the knowledge of the deed, there would have been no occasion, for Bothwell’s anxious urgency, as he would have only had to whisper her, to remain a little longer, to give his people time, to complete their preparations. All the before-named, Powrie, Dalgleish, Hay, and Hepburn, were tried, condemned, and executed, at Edinburgh, the 3d January 1567-8. They all made dying declarations;

but, pains were taken to suppress them, or misrepresent them, as much as possible. Hence, they were not preserved, or published, at length; but Bishop Lesley has given some circumstances in them: In his Defence of Q. Mary's honour, in addressing *Murray, and Morton, &c.* he says that, when John Hepburn was executed, for the traitorous fact, more than 5000 people heard him, openly, say, and testify, as he should answer to God, that you were principal authors, counsellors, and assisters, with his master, of this execrable murder; and that his said master so told him; and farthermore, *that he himself had seen the indentures we spake of.* [Defence, 1569, reprinted by Anderson, i. 76.] The bishop, also, avers that, Hay, Powrie, and Dalgleish, also, declared, at their execution, as they should answer to God, that this murder was committed by the counsel, invention, and drift of Murray, and Morton, and that they never knew the Queen to be participant, or aware thereof: And, he says that Nicholas Hubert, called French Paris, made a solemn *declaration, at his execution*, to the same purpose. The Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, Queen Mary's Commissioners, declared, that none of them ever knew any thing of the conspiracy, nor who were the devisors, inventors, or executors of the same, *till it was publickly revealed, long thereafter, by some of the executors, who suffered death therefore.* [Goodall, ii. 308.]

The Convention of thirty-five nobles, at Dunbarton, 12th Sept. 1568, aver, that Murray, Morton, &c. were charged with being the authors of the King's murder *by the declarations of those, who suffered death, therefore;* who declared, at the same time, the Queen to be inno-

cent thereof; and the nobles themselves infer the guilt of Murray, and his associates, from the proposals, which they urged, at Craigmillar. [Goodall, ii. 359.]

Buchanan has given, in his *Detection*, some seraps, a he professes, of the dying declarations of these men; and though these are, artfully, misrepresented, to convey, an insinuation against the Queen; yet the truth breaks out a little: He makes John Hepburn say that, although knowledge should be gotten of the deed, he thought “na
“ man durst have said it was evil done, *seeing the hand*
“ *writs.*” And he makes Dalgleish say, “ If I die for this, the which God judge me, if I knew more, what *shall be done to them, who was the devisers, counsellors, subscribers and fortifiers of it?*”

Six years after the execution of Powrie, Dalgleish, Hay and Hepburn, another of the guilty agents, John Ormistoun of Ormistoun [in Teviotdale] was tried, condemned, and executed, at Edinburgh, the 13th of December 1573; and he then made a dying confession, and declaration, to John Brand, Minister at Holyroodhouse, which Brand wrote down, from his mouth, and read over to him, in presence of a number of gentlemen, and servants; And it has been published, by Arnot, in the *Appendix* to his *Criminal Trials*, p. 383-388. Ormistoun said that, Bothwell opened the matter to him, on Friday, 7th Feb. before the deed was done, and required him to take part therein. Ormistoun declined; upon which the “ Earl said unto me, Tuishe, Ormistoun, ye need not tak feir of this, *for the haill lords has concludit the samen, in Craigmillar*: All that was there with the Queen, and nane dar find falt with it, when it shall be done.” He also states that, at Pasche, thereafter, when

the bruite began to rise on Bothwell, Ormiston called on him, and spoke to him of this, and put him in mind of what he said; to which Bothwell answered, “ I sall
 “ let you see sumething that I had for me; wha then let
 “ me see ane contract subscrivit be four or fyve hand
 “ writtis whilk he affirmit to me was the subscription of
 “ the Earl Huntlie, Argyl, Secretar, [Lethington] and
 “ Sir James Balfour; and alleadged mony mae promisit,
 “ wha wald assist, or he were put at; and thereafter
 “ read the said contract, quhilk, as I remember, conteinit
 “ thir words, in effect, ‘ That, forsamikle it was thought
 “ expedient, and maist profitable, for the commonwealth,
 “ be the haill nobilitie, and lords, underscryvand, that
 “ sic ane young fool, and proud tirane, sould not reigne,
 “ nor beare rule over them; and that for divers causes,
 “ and theirfoir, that the haill had concludit that he
 “ should be cut off, be ane way, or uther; and who-
 “ soever sould tak the deid in hand, or do it, they sould
 “ defend, and fortifie, as themselves;’—whilk writing, as
 “ the said Earle shewed unto me, was devysit, be Sir
 “ James Balfour, subscrivit be thame all, ane quarter of
 “ ane yeir, before the deid was done.”

“ Being inquyred gif ever the Quein spake to me of it
 “ at any time, or gif he knew what was the Queens mind
 “ into it? answerit, As I shall answer to God, shoe never
 “ spake to me, nor I to her of it, nor I knaw nathing of
 “ hir part, but as my Lord Bothwell shew me.”

From Fenelon’s *Dispatch* of the 5th January 1573-4, Carte states some circumstances of Ormiston’s confession, particularly, “ that Bothwell had shown him a paper
 “ subscribed, by the late Earl of Argyle, the Earl of
 “ Huntley, Sir James Balfour, and *the Earl of Morton*,

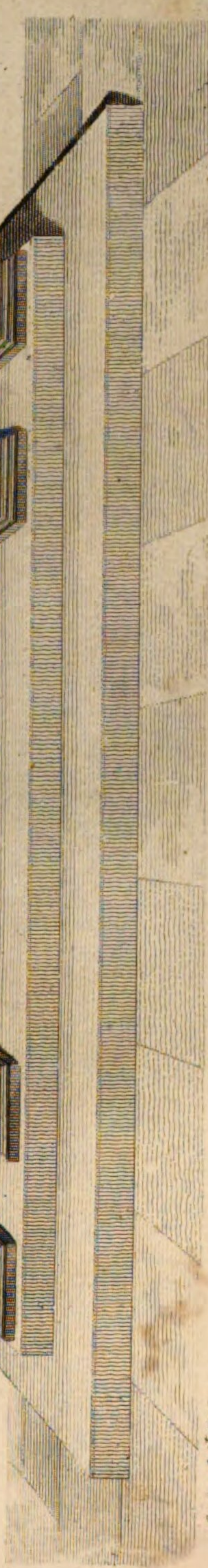
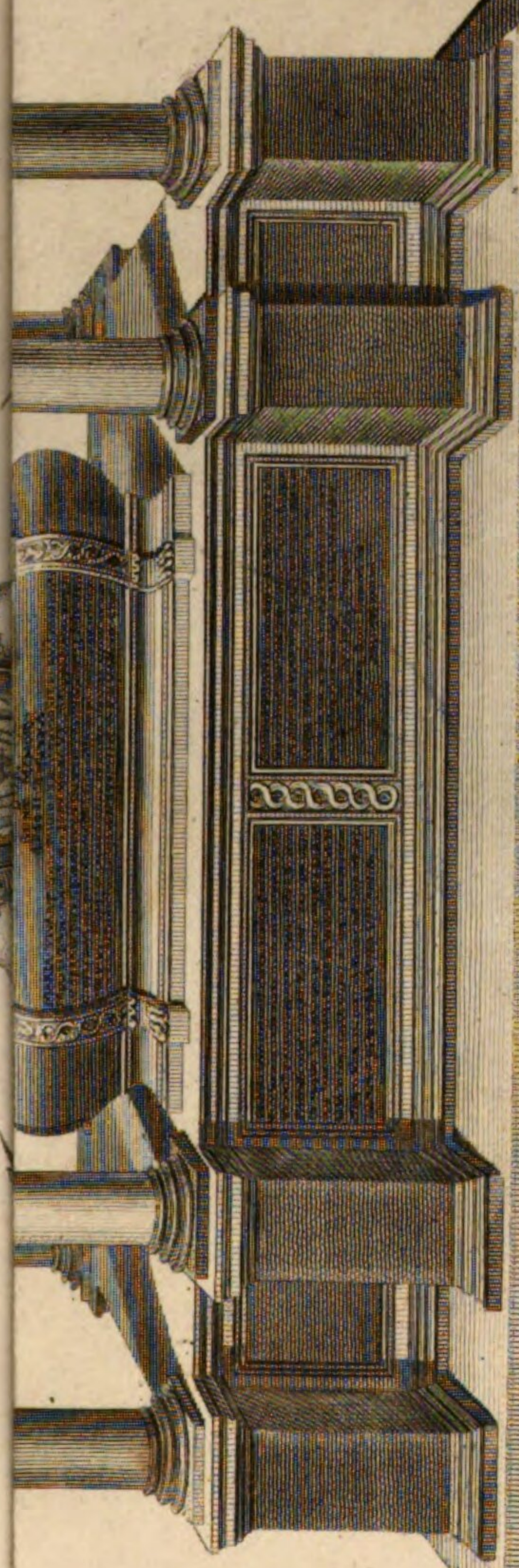
“promising their assistance to that effect.” [i. e. the murder of Darnley.] And he adds, that great care was taken to smother this confession. Carte’s *Hist.* iii. 531; Goodall, i. 391-2.

In Robertson’s *Hist.* ii 530, is the notorious Archibald Douglas’s letter to Queen Mary, in April [1584] giving an account of *a band, and league formed against Darnley*, by Murray, Athol, Bothwell, Argyle, and Secretary Lethington, in which Morton, and his associates joined, before getting their pardon, for Rizzio’s murder :—And he says, that Darnley’s murder was executed “*at command of such of the nobility, as had subscrivit the band, for that effect.*”

In Morton’s confession he states, that after he got his remission, for the murder of Rizzio, &c. he came from Wedderburn to Whittingham, in East Lothian, where Bothwell met him, and had two several discussions, with him, about cutting off Darnley; of which Morton gives such an account, as suited him; and he had, also, a discussion on the same subject, with Archibald Douglas, who was there, at the same time. After this, and a little before the murder, Morton says, that he being, in St. Andrews, on a visit to the Earl of Angus [his nephew, and ward], Archibald Douglas came there to him, from Bothwell, and had another discussion, on the same subject of the murder, which was then “*neir a point.*” Morton asserts, that he declined to engage, in the murder, as Bothwell could not show him, or get, any writing of the Queen’s consent to it. But, he admits that, *he never counselled his cousin, and confidant Archibald Douglas not to be concerned in the murder*; and that he afterwards received, and associated with Archibald Douglas, who after the

deed was done, reported to him, that he, Archibald, had been at the doing of it. [Confession in Bannatyne's *Journal*, 494-6.]

Now; coupling the examinations, and depositions, before mentioned, with the conspiracy, at Whittingham, and the convictions, following thereon, there cannot remain, in any mind, the slightest doubt, whether those conspirators did not murder Darnley: Secondly, from the conception of the plot, for that odious end, till its completion, we always see Bothwell acting, with the conspirators; but, *never with the Queen*, who is constantly exonerated, by those, who were executed, for their guilty participation, in that murder.



Carter del. 1810.

Robt. Cooper Sculp.

South view of the Monument of Mary Queen of Scots, south side of Henry 7. Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

MEMOIR II.

Memoir of Francis II.

THE first husband of the Scottish Queen was born, at Fountainbleau, on the 20th of January 1543, the son of Henry II., and Catherine of Medicis. By the death of their son, Lewis, who died young, Francis became Dauphin of France. When Henry II. perceived the purpose of Henry VIII. to marry his son, Edward, to Mary Steuart, by whatever means of treaty, or of treachery, he felt this blow to be aimed, at his own state: and, he invited the young Queen of Scots to France; as a proper wife, for his son, the Dauphin, and heir. The courtship of Henry VIII., and of Edward VI., was so overbearing, and oppressive to the Scottish people, that the Estates of Scotland resolved, with one assent, in July 1548, to send their Queen, who was still under six years of age, to France, for her education, and marriage: With her numerous attendants, she arrived, safely, in the French gallies, at Brest, in the subsequent month: She was received by the French court, with all the attention, which was due to her rank, and all the kindness, that her in-

tended spousals demanded. Henry sent notice to the Protector of England of this fortunate event, of the Queen's affiance with the Dauphin, of the investiture of her kingdom, which, considering those happy circumstances, he felt it his duty to defend.^m

Francis was, from nature, weakly, both in body, and mind: and of course, he did not make the same progress, as his destined spouse, either in stature, or in study. They were married, however, on the 24th of April 1558, in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, with every circumstance of eclat, that could add to their satisfaction, or to the gaiety of the people; when Francis, and Mary, were anointed, and crowned:ⁿ Francis was, from this epoch, during the life of his father, called the King-dauphin: And, Henry II., in an evil hour, caused his son, and daughter, to assume the title, and armorial bearings of Scotland, England, and of Ireland. On those events, there were equal rejoicings throughout Scotland. The Scottish Parliament now identified this kingdom with France; and conferred on Francis *the crown matrimonial*, of which they had never heard, till that epoch of their fame, and fortune.

^m Ribier, 151-2.

ⁿ Menin's *Hist. Treatise of the anointing, and crowning, the Kings, and Queens, of France*, 250.

In the subsequent year, the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis gave peace to Spain, France, England, and to Scotland. Calais was, by stipulation, to remain eight years, with France ; and then, to return to England, upon this condition, however, that during the same period, Elizabeth should enterprise nothing against either France, or Scotland :^o But, saith Henault, as she broke that condition, by sending supplies to the revolted admiral, in France, and to the insurgents, in Scotland, Calais remained with France ; Elizabeth being a meddler, by nature, and Cecil, her minister, being crafty, by habit.

While the rejoicing, for this peace, still continued, died Henry II., by a playful stroke of Montgomery's spear, on the 10th of July 1559. The King-dauphin succeeded, immediately, to his father's dominions, at the age of fifteen, as Francis II. ; and he was anointed, and crowned, at Rheims, on the 18th of September, by the Cardinal of Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, the Queen's uncle.^p Francis found the court divided into two factions ; that of the Guises ; and that of Montmorency : After the revolt of the Constable de Bourbon, the princes of the blood, being unable to form

^o Rym. Fæd. xv. 509 : Henault *Ab. Chron.* 476-7.

^p Menin's *Treatise*, as above, 88.

a third faction; the youth, and infirmity of Francis II. induced him, to confide the burden of government to his mother, the Queen, with the aid of a council. Few princesses were equal to Catharine, in spirit, in prudence, and address, any more than in beauty and elegance: yet, did she find it very embarrassing to elect a Council, among the princes of the blood, while she hated the constable Montmorency: In these circumstances, she preferred the princes of the house of Guise; making the Duke de Guise, the commander in chief of the army; and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the first minister of France. The cardinal found the country, suffering under a debt of two and forty millions: But, he created great discontent, when he prohibited, by sound of trumpet, the crowd of solicitors, to avoid the court; yet, by the month of March 1560, the minister, by management, and economy, freed the nation, from this burden. During this reign, owing to the circumstances, and turbulence of the times, this kingdom suffered almost every evil, which can afflict a people. France abounded with great men, who all pretended to govern, while none of them would obey. The princes of the blood assumed a right to rule their country, during the king's minority: and, the Greffier Du Tillet wrote his book, of the Majesty of Kings; in order to prove, what

did not want much proof, that the king, though a minor, might choose his own council. Amidst all those parties, ambition was the real motive, while religion was, merely, made the specious pretext, for raising disturbances, and committing crimes, in France, as well as, in other countries, during an age of innovation.

The Prince of Condé assembled the discontented, in 1559, within his castle of de la Ferté, to whom he explained his own complaints, as well as those of his brother, the king of Navarre; and he declared himself the chief of the revolt, but wished it to be concealed. Coligny, and the Vidame of Chartres, engaged to draw the Huguenots into this concert: And Renaudie was chosen the chief of the Calvinists; and having gone to England, returned with good hopes of Elizabeth's aid. He ran over France among the Calvinists; and assigned the part, which the chief of each district was to act, during the proposed revolt. In 1560, the revolt broke out into what was called the conspiracy *d'Amboise*. The end, which was discovered, was to slay the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Duke of Guise. Renaudie was the chief of this enterprise: But, the whole being discovered, was, on the 15th of March, easily disappointed, when many were slain. Amidst this effervescence, the natural result of religious zeal, and ambi-

ous greatness, the king, on the 18th of October, caused the Prince of Condé, and the King of Navarre, to be arrested: The first was condemned to death; but, the judgment was never executed, on this guilty prince: Anthony Minard, the President of Parliament, who was attached to the ancient forms, and had been curator of Mary Steuart, was shot, in the evening of the 12th of December, as he was riding on his mule, from the palace, by a Scotsman, named Stewart, as it was supposed.^a

Amidst those distractions, arising from such a state of society, when the rulers were weak, and the grandees turbulent, the health of Francis II., gradually, declined, till the 5th of December 1560, when he died at Orleans, of an imposthume in the ear, at the premature age of 17; after reigning 16 months, and 24 days. There was a monument erected to his memory, in the church of the Celestines, in Paris.^r Of

^a Henault *Ab. Chron.* Forbes's *St. Pap.* ii. 89. One Stewart, at the battle of St. Denis, gave a mortal wound to the Constable Montmorency: "Do you not know me?" said the venerable Constable: "Yes;" said Stewart, "it is because I do know you, that I have given you a mortal blow." The Constable had strength enough remaining to knock out the assassin's teeth with the pommel of his sword. See *Antiquités Nationales*, 76; Whitaker's *Vindication*, i. 262-4.

^r The following is a copy of the inscription, from "*Les*

the King, discontent could, only say, that he was young, and feeble: Of the Queen his wife *huguenoterie*, without being able, to traduce her person, or impeach her prudence, could only calumniate her kingdom. Francis, dying without issue, was succeeded by his younger brother Charles IX., who was governed by his mother, Catharine, who delighted, to ride on the whirlwind, and direct the storm. This change was not much regretted; as the gran-

“ *Epitaphes, Inscriptions, et Armoiries qui sont sur les Tombes*
 “ *dans les Eglises et Cimetterres de la Ville de Paris.*” Par
 Pierre d'Hosier. MS. Tom. ii. 244.

The
three fleurs
de lis of
France.

“ *Francoise deuzieme Roy de*
France et d'Escosse fils de
Henry 2 et de Catharine de
Medicis naquit a Fontaine-
 bleau le 20 Janvier 1543.”

The Lion
of
Scotland.

Il espousa Marie Stuart Reine d'Escosse fille unique de Jacques 5 Roy d'Escosse et de Marie de Lorraine, décéda a Orleans le 5 Decembre 1560, ayant regné 17 mois. Son corp gist a S^t Denis; et son cœur est inhumé en la dite chapelle d'Orleans dans un vase d'ore, sur lequel un ange tient une couronne en l'air qui est de bronze posé sur une haute colonne de marbre blanc semée de flames de feu, au pied de la quelle il y a trois petits enfans qui tiennent chacun un flambeau mettant le feu au pied de cette colonne. Aussi le prince portoit pour devise une colonne ardente en laquelle est une bande couronnée avec ces mots, “ *Lumen rectis.*” See the *Musée des monumens Français*. Tom. ii. pl. 55; *Ib.* Tom. iii. pl. 114: And see the annexed plate.

dees, like the nobles of Scotland, seemed to relish more a *real minority* than an *imaginary majority*. This alteration, however, induced the widowed Queen of Scots, to think, with many a sigh, of returning to her own kingdom, which was still more distracted, by religious innovators, and disturbed, by political pretenders, who were incited by Cecil's arts, and supported, by Elizabeth's power.*

* See Keith's *Hist.* under the years 1559 and 1560.

MEMOIR III.

Memoir of Henry Steuart, Lord Darnley, the second Husband of the Scottish Queen.

THE person, whose fortune, and whose fate, are now to be investigated, was the *second son* of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, by Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter of the princess Margaret, the widowed queen of James IV.; who married, for her second husband, the Earl of Angus, after the fall of the Scottish King, at Floddon-field.^t

When, or where, Lord Darnley was born, is somewhat doubtful. His eldest brother, who was also named Henry, died on the 28th of November 1545, three quarters of a year old: Whence, we may infer, that the second Henry, Lord Darnley, was born some time, in 1546; and of course must have been nearly four years younger, than Mary Steuart, who was born, on the vigil of the conception of our Lady, in 1542.^u And, he was born, probably, at Temple-Newsom, the principal seat of his father, in Yorkshire.

The earliest notice of Darnley is a letter,

^t Sandford's *Genealogical Hist.* 524-5-6.

^u *Ib.* 529.

which he wrote, in March 1554, to his cousin, Mary Tudor; and which, by a strange oversight, was supposed to be written to Mary Steuart.^v Whether Darnley derived, from this epistolary intercourse, with Mary of England, any of his perversity of temper, or his traits of popery, cannot now be known. Ten years, thereafter, we see him, at the court of Elizabeth, bearing the sword before her, as a prince of the blood.^w

^v *Cat. of R. and N. Authors*, v. 25. Mary Stewart was then in France, a girl of twelve; acquiring those accomplishments, which attracted the notice of Europe.

^w Melvil's *Mem.* 48. Queen Elizabeth, when running out, at the ripe age of 31, in praise of her favourite, Leicester, said to Melvil, Queen Mary's Ambassador, "You like better yonder *long lad*," pointing to Lord Darnley: My answer was, said Melvil, that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, who more resembled a woman: for, he was handsome, beardless, and lady-faced. This language of the Scottish ambassador was *deceptive*; in order, that Elizabeth might not suppose, he had any particular thoughts of him; while Melvil had a secret charge, by means of Lady Lennox, to procure leave for Darnley to go to Scotland, where his father had already arrived; under the pretence of seeing the country of his ancestors, and of convoying his father back to England. The Earl of Lennox had been well received, in Scotland, in consequence of Elizabeth's recommendations; his forfeiture was repealed, by Mary's influence: and his estates were restored. The title of Lord Darnley had also been taken, from the heir of John, commendator of Coldingham, and given back to Lennox.

During the years 1559 and 1560, Lennox, the father of Darnley, entered into various intrigues, both in Scotland, and in England, for regaining his ancient rights, which he had lost, in the first country, by attaching himself to the last. Upon the demise of Francis II., the youthful husband of Mary, on the 5th of December 1560, Lennox, and his wife, under the pretence of condoling Mary, on her recent loss, renewed, and extended their intrigues, at Paris, in the well-founded hopes, that the pretensions, and the person of their son, might induce Mary, to think of him, as a proper partner of her bed ; since she had no issue, to keep up a continual claim to the two crowns of the British Isle : These several intrigues of Lord and Lady Lennox, did not escape the eagle eyes of Secretary Cecil, who allowed none of the current events to pass unheeded by him.* Never

* He caused some of the confidential agents of Lord Lennox, and his wife, Elizabeth's cousin, to be examined, who, with much *gossip*, disclosed, that Lady Lennox, when she heard, that Queen Mary had arrived safe, at Edinburgh, fell down on her kness, and with uplifted hands, thanked God, that the *Scotish Queen had escaped the English ships, which Elizabeth had sent out, to intercept her passage.* Lady Lennox was committed to ward. In the Paper-office, and the British Museum, there is a vast magazine of State documents, which illustrate these obscure intrigues.

did any sultan of Constantinople feel more intensely, than Elizabeth, the Turkish spirit of not suffering any relation to approach her throne.

With the consent, and even recommendation of Elizabeth, Lord Darnley set out, from London, for Scotland, on the 3d of February 1564-5; as we know from Stow: And, as he called at Temple Newsom, he did not arrive upon the Tweed till the 10th of the same month.^y He hastened to Edinburgh; giving some disgust on his way to those, who wished to court

^y In the Paper Office, there is a dispatch, from the Earl of Bedford, the Queen's lieutenant, on the eastern march, to Mr. Secretary Cecil, dated on the 11th of February 1564-5: "Your letter of the 5th of this present, I received on the 9th, together with letters to the Lord Darnley, who came hither, yesterday; and so, have I delivered him her Majesty's letters, which he very humbly received: He departed hence, this day, whom I could not entreat to tarry so long as till dyner-time: I used unto him all the honour, and courtesie, I could, for the blood sake, whence he is descended;" [Henry VII., being his great-grandfather, Margaret, the Queen of Scots, by the Earl of Angus, his grandmother; and Lady Margaret Douglas, Elizabeth's cousin, his mother, by the Earl of Lennox.] Darnley thus appears to have been well born: Happy! if he had been as well bred. We may see, however, in Bedford's epistle to Cecil, with what recommendations Darnley entered Scotland, whatever Elizabeth might afterwards say, to the contrary.

Darnley; because he was protected by Elizabeth, when he first appeared among an envious nobility: He found, that Mary was in Fife; and Lennox, in Athole: And, he rested, in the capital, till his father informed this inexperienced youth, that he ought to pay his first duty to the Queen.² According to Cecil's *Diary*,

² In the Paper Office, there is a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated, on the 19th of February 1564-5, at Edinburgh: "The late arrived guest came, at night, to Dunbar, from Berwick: the next day, he rode no farther than to Haddington: In his way to Edinburgh, he dined at Lord Seton's, which was ill taken, by the Douglas, for the discord that is, between that house, and them, for the hurting of Francis Douglas. At Edinburgh, Darnley tarried three nights; attending an answer from his father, whether he should come to him, at Dunkeld, where his father was, with the Earl of Athol, or go to the Queen, at the Lord of Murray's, in Wemyss-house, in Fife. Upon Friday last, having received word from his father, to repair to the Queen, he went over the water [the Frith of Forth] to Wemyss-house, where he was well received of the Queen, and also lodged in the same house: But, what more passed, I know not. While Darnley tarried in Edinburgh, divers resorted to him: These like well of his person; what to judge of his other qualities, the time has not yet been sufficient to tell. There are a great many here, that do not wish him well: some suspect his religion; yet, they fear, without cause, more than I do: Darnley's arrival was so sudden, that every one was surprised: I lent him a couple of horses, as his own were not yet arrived."

on the 13th of February, Darnley arrived at Edinburgh; and on the 16th he came to the Queen. The Scottish historians, would have us believe, that Mary fell, desperately, in love with Darnley, at first sight: They would have us suppose, , simply, as themselves, that the widowed Queen, at the age of twenty-two, who knew the world, and had seen the most accomplished gentlemen, in Europe, was a boarding-school miss, who had never till now seen a man: Robertson, one of the latest of those historians, supposes Mary to have been captivated, by his *gigantic figure*: We must remember, however, that he was, merely, “a long lad” of *nineteen*.^a The historians were ignorant of Lady Lennox’s intrigues, for her son. All eyes were now turned

^a Let us now hear Sir James Melvil’s account, who was present, of what Mary said of Darnley: “He found the Queen making her progress through Fife. Her majesty took very well with him: and said, that he was the properest, and best proportioned *long man*, that ever she had seen: For, he was of a high stature, long, and small, even, and straight: After he had haunted the court, some time, he proposed marriage to her majesty, which proposal, she, at first, pretended to disrelish; as that same day, she herself told me, and that she had refused a ring, which he then offered unto her.” Such, then, is the fact, as we have it from Melvil’s *Mem.* 56. Happy! had all been like this. It may here be recollected, that Mary, herself, was one of the largest sized women; and her mother was still larger.

to Darnley, who seemed to please most eyes ; as his defects were not yet seen. It was, indeed, suspected, said Randolph to Cecil, “ that Darnley’s presence may hinder *other purposes*, and that his religion was popish.”

Meantime, Lennox, *Darnley’s father*, remained, at Dunkeld, with the Earl of Athol, who had linked his interests with theirs ; being influenced by Secretary Maitland, who had been gained, by the presents of Lady Lennox. The Earl sent a letter of acknowledgement to Elizabeth ; “ for her late favour, in writing the “ Queen, about Darnley ; for giving him leave “ to come to Scotland, on the occasions mentioned.”^b We shall perceive the bark of

^b This letter of Lennox was dated, from Dunkeld, on the 21st of February 1564 5 ; transmitted to her, by Randolph, and remains in the Paper Office. Lennox had obtained every thing that he could wish, in the settlement of his affairs ; and Lady Lennox, in order to remove every obstruction to Darnley’s wishes, and the Queen’s desires, had released to the Earl of Angus all her claims on her father’s estates ; so that the Douglasses received a great boon : And, the Queen thereupon granted a charter of confirmation to the Earl of Angus, dated the 11th of November 1564. “ My Lady Lennox, and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, sent many good advices to the Queen ; to be followed as occasion offered. My Lady Lennox, also, sent tokens to the Queen, a ring with a fair diamond ; she sent an emerald to

Darnley to sail, with wind, and tide, while the breath of Elizabeth filled her sails. Of course, he found no difficulty, in making his journey from Wemyss, in Fife, to Dunkeld, where he saw his father; and after, hastened to pay his court to Mary, when she came over the Forth, at the Queen's-ferry.^c Darnley continued *to haunt* the court: And the Queen, as early, if not earlier, than the 17th of March, seems to have fixed her affections on him, as the fittest husband; considering his whole pretensions; and she sent Secretary Maitland to solicit Elizabeth's assent.^d

my lord her husband; a diamond to my Lord of Murray; a watch, set with diamonds, and rubies, to Secretary Maitland; a ring with a ruby to my brother, Sir Robert. For, she was still in good hope, that her son, Lord Darnley, would come better speed, concerning the marriage with our Queen, than the Earl of Leicester. She was a very wise, and discreet matron, and had many favourers in England." Melv. Mem. 52.

^c Randolph's letter to Cecil, 27th Feb. 1564-5, in the Paper Office: "Yesterday," said he, "Darnley, and I, dined
" with Lord Murray: His lordship's behaviour is very well
" liked; and hitherto so governs himself; there is great
" promise of him: After supper, and he had seen the
" Queen, and divers ladies, dance, he being required, by my
" Lord of Murray, danced a *Galliarde* with the Queen;
" who, for all the cold, and storms, came home lustier, than
" when she went forth." She was absent five weeks.

^d Keith, 270. Camden, the best informed of all the his-

Cecil continued, mean while, to watch the various movements of the Queen, and Darnley ; in order to perceive the very moment, that the growing affections of Mary should settle on their proper object : and, the English Secretary cried out, Now it is plainly discovered, that the Queen will have the Lord Darnley !^e Every instrument was, instantly, set at work, to disappoint the decided purpose of the Queen, and Darnley. Elizabeth declared, with her usual duplicity, that she had never contemplated such a purpose ; the English Privy Council gave it as their advice to the Queen, that such a marriage would be the ruin of England ; and Cecil, with his usual facility, drew up a paper, to prove, that the fittest marriage, for the Scottish Queen, was the most unfit. Every measure was adopted to perplex, and oppose the Queen of Scots' wishes, except actual war ; but, a rebellion was incited, and carried on,

torians of those times, says ; “ The Queen of Scots, when her marriage had been delayed the full space of two years ; and now had pitched upon Lord Darnley, for her husband, suspected, that she had been, deceitfully, used ; and that Queen Elizabeth only proposed the marriage [of Mary] with Leicester, to no other purpose, but, to choose [for herself] the best of all the suitors.” *Hist. Transl.* 76.

^e See Cecil's *Diary*, in Murdin, 758.

within Scotland, by Cecil's artifices, and Elizabeth's money. Such were the changes, which a little month, or two, produced, in the weather of Darnley's fortune, when the breath of Elizabeth produced the happiest gales ; mild as when Zephyr breathes on Flora : But, now " forth rush the levant and the ponent winds."^f The Earl of Lennox, and the Lord Darnley, were recalled from Scotland ; but, the earl refused, to quit his own country ; and the Lord chose to remain, in the land of his fathers. The honour, countenance, and entertainment, said Randolph to Cecil, that Darnley hath had, at Edinburgh, make him think no little thing of himself.^g The English ambassador added what is of great importance, that the Lord Darnley, in talking with the Lord Robert, another bastard brother of the Queen, was showed by him, on the map of Scotland, what lands the Lord Murray had obtained from the Queen ; when

^f The Duke, Murray, and Argyle, confederated in a common quarrel against all, except God, and their sovereign, on the 15th of March ; that is, against the Queen, their sovereign, and Darnley. On the 7th of April 1565, the Earl of Murray departed from the court. The Queen, said Cecil, hateth the Duke, the Earl of Argyle, and the Earl of Murray ; alleging against the last, that he goeth about to set the crown upon his head. *Diary*, in Murdin.

^g *Dispatch*, 20th March 1564-5.

Darnley said, *it was too much* : This came to Lord Murray's ears, and it passed to the Queen's ; who advised Darnley to apologize to Murray.^b We thus see how superior Mary was to Darnley, in knowledge of the world, which forbade him to offend so powerful a favourite. Murray never forgave Darnley, for that invidious observation ; which was so inconsistent with the courtier's art.

As early as the first of April 1565, Darnley's prospects were clouded over, by sickness.ⁱ While he lay thus indisposed within the Queen's castle of Stirling, we may easily suppose, that Mary was very attentive to him : It was even

^b Keith, 274, Randolph, at the same time, informed Cecil, that the Lord Robert was vain, and nothing worth, a man full of all evil, and the sole guide of Lord Darnley. *Ib.* 272.

ⁱ Randolph's *Dispatch* to Cecil, in the Paper Office, dated the 7th of April 1565 ; " Lord Darnley," said he, " for five or six days, has been evil at ease ; many took it for a cold : and intending to drive it away, by sweating, the measles came out upon him *marvellous thick* ; He was out of danger, when I left Stirling : He lodgeth in the castle, and there is served with a mess of meat, at his own charge, and sometimes hath a dish from the Queen's table : Lord Lennox lodgeth in the town, and keepeth house there." Randolph now speaks of the noise, which was made, on the departure, from court, of the Earl of Murray, the Queen's minister.

said, that he had been, continually, visited, by the Queen, and well near, at all hours ; nor did she fear, whether the disease were infectious.^k But, such was the manners of the age, as we might learn, from the practice of Elizabeth, which struck the eyes of puritans with abhorrence. Darnley was scarcely recovered, from the *measles*, when he was attacked by an *ague* ; Nor, did the Queen's attention, and care, relax in the least on this fresh illness of the object of her affections.^l In the conduct of the rival Queens, it may be observed, that Mary was engaged to marry Darnley ; but Elizabeth only flirted with Essex. Yet, neither Bedford, nor Randolph, was always so severe of manners : " I had the honour," said Randolph to

^k The Puritan Bedford's letter to Secretary Cecil, in the Paper Office.

^l Bedford, and Randolph, both wrote to Cecil of Darnley's illness and the Queen's *marvellous care of him*, to the great discontent of those, who were ready to run out into rebellion. MS. Paper Office. Whatever murmuring among a rude populace may have been made, from the artifices of faction, those anecdotes will bring to the reader's recollection the similar conduct of Elizabeth to her favourite Essex : " When Essex," said Walpole, " acted a fit of sickness, not a day passed, without the Queen's sending often to see him ; and once went so far, as to sit long by him ; and order his broths, and things." [*Cat. of Royal and Noble Authors*, Art. *Essex*.]

Cecil, “to play a party, at a play called *the Biles*; my mistress Beton [Mary Beton,] one of the Queen’s maids of honour, and I, against the Queen, and my Lord Darnley; the women to have the gain of the winnings: Beton, and I, having the better, my Lord Darnley paid the loss; and gave Beton a ring, and a broche, with two watches, worth fifty crowns; hereupon dependeth a tale, that requires more time, than now I have to write.” The State Papers throw no light on that obscure intimation of the calumnious Randolph; and what they do not illustrate cannot now be cleared.

After a thousand intrigues of artful statesmen, it became, at length, apparent, that Elizabeth had induced Mary to adopt Darnley’s proposal of marriage, merely, to entrap her rival. Cecil, now, exerted his abilities, and Elizabeth her artifices, to prevent the marriage, which they had both promoted; in order to vex the princess, whom the one envied, and the other hated.^m Throckmorton, one of Elizabeth’s ablest men, was sent to Scotland; to raise objections,

^m It appears, from the correspondence of Randolph with Cecil, in Keith, 280, that Mary had received intelligence, from Darnley’s mother, “that Elizabeth’s displeasure [opposition] to the marriage was full of *affectation* [artifice.]” Lady Lennox was, by the Queen’s order, confined to her chamber.

and to form intrigues. The English Privy Council came to an adverse resolution, which showed their servility to the Queen's humour, more than attention to the national policy.^a In Scotland, it was easy to raise a rebellion against Mary's marriage, however fit, by the corruptest of men: Her very ministers were more attached to her rival than to her; and were more the instruments of Cecil, than lovers of their country.^o

^a Murdin, 758; Keith, 274: Lennox, and Darnley were recalled, from Scotland, and the recal countermanded, according to the Queen's humour: She even commanded Cecil to inform Bedford of her countermand, who had sent her letter of recal to Randolph, to be delivered to Lennox, and Darnley: But, as Randolph had departed for Dumfries, to intrigue with the master of Maxwell, to join Murray, in opposing the marriage, Bedford was obliged to send an express after him. Cecil, Bedford, and Randolph were all mortified at Elizabeth's tergiversation.

^o As early as the 20th of March 1564-5, Randolph wrote to Cecil:—"The Duke [of Chattelherault] and the Earls of Murray, and Argyle, perceiving their interests affected, seek by the best means they can, to prevent the marriage: their chief trust, next unto God, is the Queen's majesty [Elizabeth] whom they will repose themselves upon, not leaving, in the mean time, to provide for themselves, the best they can." [Keith, 272.] The Duke was, indeed, presumptive heir of the crown; the bastard, Murray, was scrambling amidst convulsions, with the help of Cecil, for Mary's sceptre; Argyle, who had married a bastard sister

Meanwhile, the Scottish malecontents, and Randolph, the English agent, continued their machinations against the Queen, and Darnley. Randolph intrigued with Murray, the chief minister, who left the court, at Stirling; pretending to avoid the superstitious ceremonies, which were used by the Queen; and intending to practise on the credulity of the vulgar. But, when he left the court, quiet ensued; there being now some relief, from his predominance. Randolph, on his return, from Stirling, soon after, held a conference with the duke, to which no one was privy, but such as were of trust.^p To Murray's faction, Elizabeth's recommendation of Darnley, gave great offence: And, by this faction was Randolph required to urge Cecil's endeavours, to prevent the Queen's marriage with Darnley: One of the artifices, by which he incited Cecil's activity, was, to assert how much *the godly* cry out; thinking them-

of Murray, and Mary, seems to have then acted, as the instrument of Murray's ambition.

^p Randolph's letter to Bedford, 7th April 1565, in the Paper Office. In this letter, that busy intriguer adds, "there were great expectation, what shall become of this
"great favour borne to my Lord Darnley, which maketh
"here amongst us such muttering, that burst out it must,
"some way or other, to some men's cost" [Lennox and Darnley.]

selves undone.^q In addition to all those intrigues, which pointed to civil war, in Scotland, Bedford, the English lieutenant, on the borders, added the basest practices, which breach of trust can perpetrate.^r

The Queen, however, steadily pursued her

^q Randolph's letter to Cecil, 18th April 1565, in the Paper Office : He deceived Elizabeth, and her Secretary, by talking so often of *the godly*, and the *godly party*. The fact is, that *the godly* saw nothing improper in Darnley's marriage with the Queen, till they were incited, by Murray's artifices, which gave out how much *the Religion was in danger*. It is remarkable, that Knox himself, in stating that Maitland had been sent to Elizabeth, to intimate Mary's intention to marry Darnley, speaks of this marriage as a political one ; Darnley being so near of blood to both the Queens, and the next heir to the English crown, after Queen Mary ; and he desires the reader to mark *God's providence in bringing about this marriage* ; and thereby fulfilling the wishes of James V., to keep the crown, in the family, and name, of Stewart. *Hist. Ref.* 369.

^r Bedford being entrusted with Mary's letters to her envoy, Maitland, at Elizabeth's court, on the 26th of April 1565, sent them to Secretary Cecil, with an intimation, *that he might deliver them, or not, as he thought good*. The Earl of Lennox, also, intrusted to Bedford letters to be forwarded by him to his wife ; and those, on the 28th of the same month, he sent to Cecil, and hinted, " it cannot be, but that there is some news therein ; you may use your wisdom, in retaining, or delivering them." Bedford's letters to Cecil, in the Paper Office.

purpose, in the face of avowed opposition, and secret management. On the first of May 1565, Murray, and Argyle, came to Edinburgh with five, or six thousand men, “to keep the law day against the Earl of Bothwell,” though they knew, that he had retired from Britain, a month before. But, the true object of such an appearance, “in favour of Lord Murray,” was, plainly, intended, to overawe the Queen, and terrify Darnley. The preachers, also, who acted under the same influences, by their slanderous tongues, attempted to propagate popular discontent.*

But, though the Queen showed her dislike, at seeing such a body of undisciplined men brought into her presence, she was not terrified: Having resolved, to take the advice of her Estates, concerning her marriage, on the 15th of May, then next, at Stirling. Murray carried those requisitions of his convention to

* On the 3d of May 1565, Murray, and his associates, convened at Edinburgh, an assembly of ministers, and zealous; and urged them to press upon the Queen some unreasonable requests; to remove idolatry, as well from her own chapel, as others; and to forgive the ministers' *free speech* and *liberty of reproof*: These resolutions were agreed to; and delivered to Murray, for presentation to the Queen. Randolph's letter to Cecil, 3d May 1565, in the Paper Office; Knox, 372.

the Queen, at Stirling, three days after; his coadjutor Randolph remaining, at Edinburgh, by his advice, to carry on their concerted designs.^t Murray was well received, by the Queen, who easily pushed aside such absurd demands; and in her turn, requested him to agree to her marriage with Darnley; and to sign a writing to that purpose:^u But, he refused both those requests. The Queen sent the Justice Clerk to *the Duke* [of Chattelherauld] to persuade him to consent, who could not refuse, as he was promised assurance of his whole Estate.^x In this manner, the Queen gained thirteen of her nobles, before the meeting of the convention, though Lennox, and Darnley, did not play their parts with equal address.^y In the meantime, Elizabeth acted, with some circumspection, as she wished not to plunge into open hostilities, or even to be seen, by the ambassadors of France, and Spain, to incite rebellion, in Scotland: she, indeed, sent Throckmorton to

^t Randolph's *Letters* to Cecil, 8th May, in the Paper Office.

^u *Ib.* Knox, 372.

^x Keith, *App.* 60.

^y If we may believe Randolph, Lennox borrowed 500 crowns of Maitland, who had been gained, by Lady Lennox: And Darnley, while lying sick in his bed, had already boasted, "*to knock the Duke's pate, when he is well:*" So heedless was he of consequences?

Mary's court, to obstruct her marriage with Darnley, and to urge the choice of Leicester, her own favourite: So absurd was Elizabeth, in pursuit of her present object.

The convention met at Stirling, on the 15th of May 1565. On the same day arrived Throckmorton, who was admitted, in the afternoon, to his audience: He now made his objections to the Queen's marriage; threw out his menaces against Lennox, and Darnley; and not meeting with much success, he commenced his intrigues among the nobles, with whom, however, he seems to have made as little impression; as he had no gratuities to offer.^z The convention, which was numerous, unanimously, approved of Mary's marriage with Darnley:^a Nor, could any reasonable objection be made, either to the measure, or to the man, under the existing circumstances. The duke, who was by law, the second person, in the kingdom; Murray, who wished to be the first; Argyle, who was ready to accept of Elizabeth's money; and Glencairn, who, perhaps, acted from enthusiasm; all approved of the marriage, in the convention; as they durst not avow their real motives, which were interested, if not treasonous. On the

^z See Throckmorton's *Letters* in Keith, 276-81.

^a *Ib.* 277.

same day, Darnley was created Knight, Baron, and Earl, with the reservation of the title of Duke of Albany; on the remonstrances of Throckmorton.^b This delay of so great an honour, Darnley is said to have borne, with great impatience: If we might credit the calumnious Randolph, Darnley “would have struck the Justice Clerk, who brought him word, that “the creation of the highest title, was deferred “for a time.” From this epoch, the letters of Randolph, which were always, sufficiently, sarcastick, became completely calumnious.

Throckmorton, on the 19th of May, took

^b Keith, 281. Those creations took place, after the audience of Throckmorton. From the *Privy Seal Record* we know that, on the 15th of May 1565, there was a grant to Lord Darnley of the Earldom of Ross, and Lordship of Ardmanach, comprehending a great many lands.

On the 21st of May, was granted him *the Bishoprick of Ross*.

On the 25th he had a grant of the Earldom of Lennox, with the lands to it belonging.

On the 18th of June, he had a grant of the Barony of Far, with many lands, fishings, &c. in Strathnaver, and Sutherland; which were in the Queen's hands, by escheat; as the late Donald Macky was born a *bastard*.

On the 20th July, Darnley had a grant of the Dukedom of Albany. The foregoing grants were not small boons to Darnley, without taking into consideration the matrimonial crown.

leave of the Queen, at Stirling, and joined Randolph, the associate of his artifices, at Edinburgh. He, thence, gave an account of his conduct to Elizabeth, to Cecil, and to Leicester: He informed them, that the Queen's marriage with Darnley could not now be prevented, but by *violence*: He recommended every preparation for war, without any great consideration, whether cause had been given for hostilities, or even for interposition.^c He recommended, in the true spirit of his mistress, further restraint on the mother of Darnley. He suggested, that more gracious entertainment should be given to Lady Somerset:^d and above all, Throckmorton advised to keep well with France, and Spain; to the end, *they might bring their matters better to pass, in Scotland*. In the midst of all those artifices, and intrigues, Mary tried to conciliate Elizabeth; while Elizabeth endeavoured to frighten Mary.^e Ran-

^c The Queen had agreed, to delay her marriage three months, and to solicit Elizabeth's assent, in the meantime. Keith, 278. She applied, however, for the Pope's Dispensation. Murray wrote to Cecil on the same subject, 20th May 1565, a letter which remains in the Paper Office.

^d In the same depository of papers, there are many flattering letters, from that lady to Secretary Cecil, about that intriguing period.

^e Keith, 283-5: Cecil followed up Throckmorton's ar-

dolph, the corrupt agent of Elizabeth, advised Secretary Cecil to pension the Scots nobility, in order to make them act against their sovereign; and he recommended the Earl of Argyll, as well worthy any purchase-money, on such an emergency.^f The irresolution of Elizabeth, strengthened, as it was, by all those representations, and motions, again sent letters of recal to Lennox, and to Darnley: But, such a summons, objectionable as it was, they were not very ready to obey.^g The Scottish Queen, in the midst of her vexations, sent her Master of Requests, John Hay, to mollify Elizabeth's rigours, and to gain time, by negotiation, till the dispensation, for marrying Darnley, should arrive.^h

guments with a representation, from himself, concerning the perils, and troubles, that may ensue to the Queen, and the nation, upon the marriage of the Scots Queen to Lord Darnley. *Ib. App. 97.* The result of Cecil's paper, to stimulate the jealousy of Elizabeth, consisted, in showing, that such a marriage, by uniting the rights of Mary and Darnley, to the English crown, strengthened their pretensions, by augmenting their partisans.

^f Randolph's insidious dispatch, 24th May 1565, from Berwick, is in the Paper Office.

^g Cecil's *Diary*, of the 18th June, and the 5th July 1565.

^h *Id.* Keith, 283-5. Hay was a creature of Murray, from whom nothing but treachery could be expected; and there-

Meantime, Murray, and his associates, incited by Elizabeth, and her agents, continued their preparations, for rebellion.ⁱ The first object of their treasonous machinations was to seize Lennox, and Darnley, with design to send them prisoners to Berwick.^k Their traitorous

fore, Randolph recommended, that he should be well used. On the day of his arrival at the English capital, the unhappy Lady Lennox was sent, from court, to the Tower. On the 30th of June, the French King wrote to Elizabeth, in favour of Darnley, and for the release of his imprisoned mother. Keith's *App.* 161.

ⁱ In June 1565, Randolph received letters, from his mistress, promising to support Murray and his associates; and he, immediately, communicated those incitements to the rebellious party. Of Elizabeth's letter, dated the 8th of June, there is an abstract, in the Paper Office; and Randolph mentions, that he had communicated to them, her letter of the 13th of June. Keith, 289. But, she afterwards, boldly, denied her letters, and incitements.

^k Randolph, on the 2d of July 1565, wrote to Cecil:
 “ Some that have already heard of the imprisonment of Lady
 “ Lennox, like very well thereof; and wish both her hus-
 “ band, and son, [Lennox, and Darnley] to keep her com-
 “ pany. The question hath been asked me, [by Murray,
 “ and his associates,] whether these, if they were delivered
 “ us into Berwick, we would receive them? I answered,
 “ that we could, nor would not, refuse our own, in what
 “ sort soever, they came unto us. It is no small comfort to
 “ all those, that favour *God's word*, to hear, that the Queen's
 “ majesty, [Elizabeth] is determined to advance the true
 “ religion, and to abase the contrary.” Keith, 285.

designs are more fully disclosed, in a conversation, between Murray and Randolph: “ I have
“ lately spoken,” said Randolph to Cecil, “ with
“ my Lord of Murray: He is grieved, *to see*
“ *these extreme follies in his sovereign*; he
“ lamenteth the state of this country, that
“ tendeth to utter ruin; he feareth, that the
“ nobility shall be forced to assemble themselves together to do her honour, and reverence, as they are in duty bound; but, to
“ provide for the state, that it do not perish;
“ the whole country being now broken, and
“ every man lying, in such discontentment, as
“ they do: The Duke, Argle, and Murray, concur in this device; many others are like to
“ join with them, in the same device: what will
“ ensue let wise men judge.” Such, then, was the apologetical proclamation of Murray, and Randolph, for the unnatural rebellion, which they then raised against the Scottish Queen! Here is the outline of the plot, which was designed to end, by the imprisonment of the Queen, in Lochleven-castle, and the consignment of Lennox, and Darnley, to the gaol of Berwick. The Queen, with Darnley, and her attendants, male, and female, had gone on a visit to the Earl of Athol, at Dunkeld, in the last week of June; with an intention to return, in a few days, to Perth; and thence to repair

to Calender, along the high-road, by Kinross, and the Queen's-ferry; in order to witness the baptism of Lord Livingston's child. The conspirators, who were aware of her purpose, laid a plan, for intercepting her, and Darnley, at the Kirk of Beith: For this end, Murray placed himself, in his mother's house of Lochleven, near Kinross; Argyle remained at Castle Campbel, ten miles off; Lord Rothes, with his followers, took post, at the Parrot-well; and the Duke lay, at his house of Kinneil, on the Forth, at no great distance from the Queen's-ferry. This plan was so well laid, that it could not fail, according to the opinion of the acutest statesmen.¹ But, what are the hopes of men! On the Queen's return, from Dunkeld, to Perth, she received some intimation of Murray's purpose: She felt, that Perth was not now a place of safety, for her: And she directed the Earl of Athol, and Lord Ruthven, with their friends, to convoy her, on the morrow, to Calender. She mounted her horse, at 5 o'clock, in the morning, and rode, with great speed, towards the

¹ Secretary Cecil was so impressed with that opinion, that he entered in his *Diary* of the 7th of July 1565, "a rumour spread, that the Queen of Scots should have been taken, by the Lords, Argyle, and Murray." Murdin, 759.

Queen's-ferry, accompanied by three women, and by three hundred horsemen; passing through Kinross, before Murray had any suspicion of her advance. The Queen, and Darnley, thus eluded, by address, and activity, every ambuscade, which artifice had laid, for their interception. In co-operation with this conspiracy against the Queen, and Darnley, there was an ecclesiastical meeting at Edinburgh, under the influence of Murray, to embarrass the Queen, with unreasonable demands; and the Earl of Glencairn came to Edinburgh, to concert an insurrection of enthusiasts, in the Queen's park, at St. Leonard's Craig, where they proceeded the length of choosing their officers. But, the Queen hastening to her metropolis, those religious insurgents were easily dissipated, by her own presence.^m

The escape of the Queen, from the various snares, that had been laid for her, equally, disappointed Elizabeth, and Cecil, the Duke, and Murray, Knox, and his disciples, who, however, were too strenuous, to be easily pushed aside, from their treasonous designs, on Mary's sceptre and Darnley's life.

The conspirators persevered, in their criminal

^m Keith, 293 ; Spottiswoode, 190.

pursuits; relying on Elizabeth's promises, and Cecil's protection: And, feeling their disappointment, in so well laid a plot, Murray, Argyle, and Boyd, retired, on the 1st of July 1565, into Lochleven castle, to deliberate on their ultimate measures: They resolved to take arms; and to solicit the aid of Elizabeth, at least to the amount of £3000., as she had engaged. For the communication of those purposes, they sent a trusty person to Randolph, at Edinburgh; inviting him, at the same time, to meet them. Randolph communicated their designs, and those measures, to Leicester, and Cecil. He suggested to Cecil, that Elizabeth's Lieutenant on the Borders, Bedford, might be sent to Berwick, "to support *the lords of religion*;" and he intimated the desires of those *religious lords*, that some of the border banditti might be let loose on Lord Home's lands; to prevent him from assisting the Queen. Most of those suggestions to Leicester, and Cecil, were adopted, by Elizabeth, though she could not be prevailed on, to make open war. While Elizabeth was thus inciting a rebellion, in Scotland, she wrote, with her usual duplicity, on the 10th of July, to Mary; advising her to regard her subjects, with more favour; and her lords would behave, as lovers of *the religion*, and as *good subjects* to her. At the eve of civil war,

in Scotland, there were several questions bandied among the religious men, and women, of that country, as we learn from Camden: "Whether a Papist might be lawfully made their King? Whether the Queen was at liberty to make choice of a husband, for herself? Whether the States ought not to appoint a husband for her? Those questions, which probably, were asked, by the artifice of Cecil, would have all been answered against the Queen, and Darnley, if the power of the noble conspirators had been equal to their ambitious purposes. The Scottish Queen was not, at that treasonous moment, inattentive to the interests of her people, or to the suggestions of her own feelings: She prorogued the Parliament, which was to have met, at Edinburgh, on the 20th of July, to the 1st of September:ⁿ She issued assurances under her own hand, that as she had never disturbed any of her protestant subjects, in the exercise of their religion, so would she be careful to protect them, in the complete enjoyment of their worship, according to their own forms.^o And she not only, by proclamation, warned all her people to attend her, in warlike manner, as their duty required, but she wrote, specially, to particular persons, urging them to come to her

ⁿ Keith, 297.^o Ib. 298.

aid.^p The rebellious nobles, thus foiled, by Mary, and encouraged, by Elizabeth, met at Stirling, on the 17th of July. They here entered into a traitorous engagement, which was founded on the analogous demands of the assembly, of the 27th of June; and those faithless men bound themselves, first, *to the Lord their God*, secondly, to each other, for the faithful performance of their engagement: And with the most genuine hypocrisy, they declared to the whole world, that they meant nothing, in all their proceedings, but humble reverence, and faithful obedience to their sovereign lady. Such hypocrisy, and impudence, the world never saw before; except in the proceedings of the same miscreants, in 1559, and 1560, who called a Parliament, under a treaty, which had been, by themselves, for the occasion, forged. On the subsequent day, the Duke, Murray, and Argyle, wrote to Elizabeth, by Elphinston, a special messenger; begging her support, for enabling them to *establish the Evangel*, in Scotland. Randolph wrote, at the same time, to Cecil; requesting his assistance, for “*the lords of the congregation*,” to redress religious grievances, if the Queen of Scots should occasion any, by her future conduct: And he added, what he

^p See the Acts of Privy Council, in Keith's *App.* 109-11.

supposed would have great influence, that this Queen, [Mary] had very little money, no credit, and few friends.^q

The congregational rebels had, promptly, assembled their followers; and even had cut off the communication, between the capital, and the western districts.^r But, their pretences were not felt, by their countrymen: The Queen's marriage with Darnley, as it was in itself fit, and beneficial to the nation, was popular; and the Queen's conduct, since her arrival, like her predecessor, Duncan's, had been *so gracious*, that she enjoyed the publick confidence:^u And when she summoned her barons, and people, to assemble around her, they obeyed her summons, with alacrity: So many of the nobles, and the gentry, and their followers, arrived at Edinburgh on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of July, that she found herself at the head of a force, which the rebels could not resist.^t

But, the Queen had now other objects, than the opening of a campaign against nobles, who acted on pretences, that were not popularly

^q Keith, 301.

^r *Ib.* 303.

^s Robertson was so idle, as to attribute that confidence to Murray's conduct, as her minister.

^t Keith, 298-9; *App.* 106-7. The Queen, on that emergency, pardoned Huntley, and recalled Sutherland, and Bothwell, who were in banishment.

felt, upon religious principles. On the 20th of July, she created Lord Darnley, who was already Earl of Ross, Duke of Albany, and conferred on him all the property, and privileges, to the dukedom belonging.^u On the 22d of July, the banns of marriage, between the Queen, and the duke of Albany, were proclaimed. On the 28th of July, the Queen issued a proclamation, directing that he should be styled King, and treated, as such. On Sunday, the 29th of July, at 6 o'clock in the morning, the Queen, and Albany, were married, in the Chapel of Holyrood, by Henry Sinclair, the dean of Rastelrig, and president of the Court of Session, the Queen having received the approbation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, her uncle, as well as the dispensation of the Pope. After the ceremony, Mary went to mass, and Albany to *his pastime*: During several days, there was nothing heard, at Edinburgh, but rejoicing, nothing seen but sports, and nothing enjoyed but banquets. On the 30th of July, another proclamation was issued, that the Queen's husband, should be styled King, and that all publick proceedings should now run, in his name, and hers, as King, and Queen of Scotland.^x In this manner, then, was the *crown matrimonial* placed upon the

^u *Privy Seal Reg.* xxxiii.^x Keith, 306-7.

head of Albany, though he was not aware, that any thing more was meant, than what he now enjoyed: more he might have enjoyed, in the government of the kingdom, if he had been a person of any talents.^y

Randolph now wrote to Leicester, and Cecil, in the true spirit of official calumniation: To the first, he maligned the king, as below contempt, and as despised by the people: To the

^y On the 20th of July, Randolph put Lennox and Darnley, in remembrance of the letters of recal, which he had delivered to them from his mistress. Lennox complained of the imprisonment of his wife, and feared a similar fate, if he were to return into England, but, he was ready to serve the English Queen: Lennox had a better answer, if he had been a noble of any stoutness: He might have said, that when he resided in England, he owed the Queen local allegiance; but, being a natural born subject to Scotland, he was in his proper country, where he chose to remain. Albany answered something like a king: I acknowledge no other obedience, than what I owe to the Queen here; and seeing your mistress is so envious of my good fortune, I doubt not but she may have need of me, in a few days: I feel myself very well, where I am, and have no purpose to return. Randolph, in reply said, *that he hoped to see the wreck of all, that were of the same mind with him*; and so turning his back upon the King, he retired, without any reverence. [Randolph's own account of this conference to Cecil, dated the 21st July, in Keith, 303-4.] It was but a pitiful shift of policy in Elizabeth, to imprison her poor cousin, Lady Lennox, when she thus acted the farce of disingenuousness towards the rebels.

second, he stated, in a prophetick style of menace, which, considering the disastrous conclusion of the king's career, is very remarkable: The people, said Randolph, have small joy, in this new master: and find nothing, but *that God must either send him a short end*, or them a miserable life; the dangers to these he now hateth are great; and either *he must be taken away*, or they find some support, *that what he intendeth to others may light upon himself*. With England this Queen meaneth to make a divorce, though she will make fair weather; but, with France she will join: she doateth so much on her husband, that, some report she is bewitched.^z Such was the insidious tone of disappointed intrigues!

The rebellious nobles, being on that occasion, unable to meet the Queen in the field, retired for a while to their several castles; whence they propagated their clamours against the Queen's measure of declaring her husband *matrimonial king*, as an oppression, which could not be borne, by an oppressed people, whom the rebels invited to resist, as the beginnings of

^z Goodall, i. 222. Keith, 287-303-4. All these malignant representations were made to the English ministers, on the 21st July 1565; and the King was assassinated, on the 10th February 1566-7.

tyranny.^a But, such outcries of ambitious treason produced little effect, even among the vulgar, as the real motives of both parties, in the state, were apparent.^b The return of Elphinston, the messenger, from Elizabeth, to Scotland, early, in August, bringing with him a propitious answer, from her, and what was of more importance, a large supply, revived their hopes.^c The rebels were now enabled to assemble, but, not in great numbers : Yet, being unable to meet the Queen's forces, they retired, about the middle of August, into the fastnesses of Argyle.^d

Meantime, Elizabeth sent Tamworth to Edinburgh ; to concert with Randolph the best mode of embarrassing the Queen ; bringing with him a captious statement of Elizabeth's objections to Mary's marriage, with other complaints of

^a Keith, 308.

^b Knox, 380.

^c Keith's *App.* 162 ; Knox, 380, says Elphinston brought 10,000*l.* sterling. On the 13th of August Nicol Elphinston was charged to appear before the King, and Queen, in Council, to answer for his conduct. [*Privy Council Reg.* of that date.] In fact, Nicol Elphinston was a retainer, and confidential agent of Murray, and was afterwards employed, by him, when regent, in similar practices. [Haynes, 462.]

^d Keith, 309-13. The rebels retired into Argyle, even before the 14th of August, as the Act of Privy Council implies.

little moment. But, as Tamworth was instructed not to acknowledge Darnley, as king, he was not admitted into the Queen's presence.^e Elizabeth gained nothing, by this conduct of Tamworth, who was not in himself the fittest person, to deliver a message, which was in itself indelicate.^f It only provoked Mary to repel, with unusual spirit, the assumption of several articles of it; and to desire, that Elizabeth would not meddle with the domestick concerns of Scotland, as she had never meddled with the internal affairs of England. Yet, Mary professed a desire to live in amity with Elizabeth, and to act towards her cousin, as one princess ought to treat another. When Tamworth departed, from Edinburgh, on his return to England, he refused a passport, as it was signed by Darnley, either from instruction, or from petulance: And he was of course detained a few days by Lord Home, the Scottish Warden of the East Marches.^g While Tamworth was occupied, at Edinburgh; and it was supposed, by Cecil, that the rebels would sufficiently occupy Mary,

^e Keith's *App.* 99-105.

^f Camden, 63, says that Tamworth, "being a man of a busy tongue, blotted the Queen of Scots' reputation with "I know not what obloquy."

^g Keith, 311.

Elizabeth sent orders to Bedford, her Lieutenant, at Berwick, to commit open hostility, by taking Aymouth, and securing it.^h These measures of hostility were only prevented, by the difficulty of them. And before she could reinforce Bedford, she learned, that the rebels were unable to face their sovereign : Thus was Elizabeth obliged to retrace her steps ; to recal her orders for war ; and to hear the just recriminations of the Scottish Queen.

In the meantime, the rebellious nobles, with Murray at their head, held a meeting, at Air, on the 15th of August, when they resolved to be prepared with their forces, on the 24th :ⁱ meanwhile they were openly joined, by the Earl of Glencairn, and by Wishart of Pitarrow, *the comptroller of the Queen's house*. Sir John Maxwell, the Queen's Warden of the West Marches, a member of her Council, also secretly favoured the rebels, and openly conducted them into Dumfries-shire, where he had the chief command. There still remained, in the Queen's council, other persons, of still greater importance, who favoured Murray, and betrayed their sovereign ; such as Morton, the Chancellor, Maitland, the Secretary, John, Lord Erskine, Murray's uncle, who had recently obtained,

^h *Ib.* 164.ⁱ Knox, 380.

from the Queen's bounty, the Earldom of Mar.

The Queen, and Darnley, who were thus surrounded, by so many traitors, resolved, however, to follow the rebels into the west; and on the 22d of August, required, by proclamation, all their subjects to attend them in arms; they commanded, on the same day, her people not to join the rebels, and to leave their bands, if they had joined them.^k And the Queen, and King, wrote specially to particular barons; desiring them, to join the royal army, with their warlike followers.^l At the same time, they removed Douglas, the Provost of Edinburgh, and appointed a more sufficient person, to govern the metropolis, in their absence. After all those measures of warlike preparation, the King, and Queen departed, from Edinburgh, on the 26th of August, for Linlithgow; whence they advanced, on the morrow, to Stirling: And their force accumulating, in their progress, they marched, on the 29th of August, to Glasgow:^m

^k Keith, 312-13: By another proclamation, full assurance was given, as to religious concernments. *Id.*

^l Keith, 313.

^m The movements of the King, and Queen, during this campaign, are given, from their *household books*, which are the last of the series, that remain in the Register House, at Edinburgh.

On the same day, that the Queen arrived at Glasgow, the rebels entered Paisley, with a thousand horsemen : But, finding themselves too weak, to oppose the loyalists, they went to Hamilton, on the 30th, and to Edinburgh, on the 31st of August. The rebels were disconcerted, by the rapidity of the King, and Queen's movements, as much as they were weakened, by the proclamations, which warned the disaffected of their duty, and required them to return to their quiet homes.ⁿ From Edinburgh, the rebels sent messages everywhere ; imploring aid in so godly a cause ; in the capital, they invited, by the beat of drum, all men to join them, who should receive wages, “ for the defence of God's “ glory ;” but their efforts were unavailing, though they were aided, by Knox's sermons.^o

ⁿ Keith, 315 ; *App.* 164 : The leaders of the rebels, who came to Edinburgh, were the Duke, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, Boyd, Ochiltree, and other smaller barons, who had more zeal, than faithfulness to their legitimate sovereign : many of the Hamiltons left their chief, before he marched to Edinburgh.

^o At Edinburgh, they could not get any comfort, or support, and none, or few resorted to them, says Knox, 381. On Sunday, the 19th of August, the King went to the High Church of Edinburgh, wherein John Knox preached, and took occasion, “ to speak of the government of wicked “ princes, who, for the sins of the people, are sent as tyrants,

Finding the people of Edinburgh unmoved, either by Knox's speaking, or by Murray's writing, the rebels departed from the capital, before daybreak, on the 2d of September, 1200 strong; and marching to Lanark, they proceeded thence to Hamilton, where they were joined, by Sir John Maxwell, and his uncle, Douglas of Drumlanrig: They were now induced to proceed into Dumfries-shire.^p The King, and Queen, in the meantime, set out from Glasgow, with their forces, on the 1st of September, for Edinburgh, in pursuit of the rebels. The van was led by Lennox, the centre

“and scourges, to plague them:” And, among other matters, the preacher said, that God sets, in that room, (for the offences and ingratitude of the people) *boys and women*, and added some other words, which appeared bitter, in the King's ears; such as, that God justly punished Ahab, and his posterity; because he would not take order with that harlot, Jezabell. *Ib.* 380-1. How unscriptural all this enthusiastick rant was, need not be mentioned. The Saviour of the world, modest, and unassuming, as he always was, never spoke evil of dignities, and never preached the doctrines of sedition!

^p Goodall, i. 206; Keith's *App.* 163-4; Randolph's *Despatches to Cecil*, of the 3d and 4th of September, 1565: Randolph intimated, that they expected more support from England: “If Queen Elizabeth,” he added, “will now help them, with men, and money, the insurgents doubt not, but one country will receive *both the Queens*.”

by Morton, and the rear, by the King.^a They marched under a tempest of wind, and rain, to Callender, where the King and Queen lodged, for the night. On the 2d they received intelligence, that the rebels had departed, early that morning, from Edinburgh: But, instead of following them, southward, into Clydesdale, the Queen was deluded to move, with her retinue, northward to Stirling; having issued orders to her forces, to proceed westward, and meet her, on the morrow, at Kilsyth:^r On the 3d of September, she, accordingly, joined her army; and marched, from Kilsyth to Glasgow. Here, she loitered till the 6th of September; evincing by her misconduct, that she was deluded, by treacherous counsels.^s As it was

^a Randolph wrote to Cecil, on the 3d and 4th of September, that *the Queen's husband* was the only one, who wore gilt armour; and that divers of the insurgents were appointed, to set upon him; and either kill him, or die themselves. The Queen beareth a pistol charged, when in the field.

^r Keith's *App.* 111.

^s The *Household Books and Privy Council Register*. Several of her Privy Counsellors, who were with the King and Queen, were unfaithful to them, and friendly to the rebels: Of these, the most able, and dangerous, was Morton, who conducted one of the divisions of the royal army. On the 3d of September, Randolph wrote to Cecil, that the Queen suspected Morton, yet hath he not wit to leave her. Goodall, i. 206. It was not want of wit, or will, which prevented Morton, from

now certain that the rebels had retired into Dumfries-shire, the King and Queen appointed Lennox their Lieutenant, in the south-western shires, with proper forces ; while they themselves marched northward, with the great body of the royal army.^t

The King and Queen now remained, at Stirling, till the 8th of September ; when they marched into Fife, with a view to overpower those friends of Murray, who could not resist them. On the same day, Lord Sanquhar, with

leaving the Queen, but the same cause, that had detained him so long, with the Queen's mother, the dread of losing his own Earldom, with that of Angus, his nephew, which he held in ward. On the 9th of September, Randolph wrote to Cecil, " that Morton has now left the Queen." [Keith's *App.* 164 :] But, he did not leave her to join the rebels, as Randolph wished, and expected. Morton does not appear to have accompanied the King, and Queen, into Fife ; as he was not present, in any of the Privy Councils, which met at St. Andrews, on the 12th, and at Dundee on the 14th and 15th of September ; though he was present in the Privy Council, which was held, at Glasgow, on the 5th and 6th of September, when the absurd measure, of *marching northward*, while the rebels *retired southward*, was resolved on, as well as, in the previous Councils : As Morton now saw, that his friends, the rebels, were out of danger, he retired to his own Castle of Dalkeith.

^t At Glasgow, on the 6th of September, the King and Queen made an Act of Council, in favour of the heirs of those, who should die, under their command.

a detachment of the royal army, took Castle-Campbel, the guilty fortlet of the Earl of Argyle.^u On the 9th, the King and Queen marched, from Dumfermlin, to Falkland; and on the 10th, to St. Andrews, where she obliged many of the gentlemen of Fife to enter into a bond, on the 12th, to support the King and Queen against the rebels.* At St. Andrews, she issued, on the 12th of September, a proclamation, exposing the artifices of the rebels, particularly, of Murray, their chief, whose ingratitude, and ambition, were forcibly pointed to vulgar eyes.^y The King, and Queen, now passed the Tay to Dundee, a guilty town, which had been misled, by Haliburton, the Provost, who was then at Dumfries, with the rebels. A fine of 2000 marks was imposed upon it. The King, and Queen, here issued a proclamation, in favour of the reformed religion: In this publication were exposed the misrepresentations, which had induced many to join the rebellious standard of Murray; they promised

^u In the beginning of September, Argyle laid waste the countries of Lennox, and of Athole. Keith's *App.* 165.

* Keith's *App.* 112. Other suspected persons were obliged to give security, for their quiet conduct; a few were imprisoned; and the city of St. Andrews was fined. *Privy Council Reg.* ^y Keith's *App.* 114.

to call a Parliament, which had, only, been prevented, by the machinations of the discontented, when they would confirm all that she had ever promised to her Protestant subjects.^z The King, and Queen, went to Perth, on the 15th; and on the morrow, to Ruthven, where they remained till the 18th, when they departed, for Dumfermlin; and thence proceeded, on the 19th, by the Queensferry, to Edinburgh.^a It is apparent, that such a tour might have been better performed, and such proceedings done, after the expulsion of Murray, and his partisans; when the faithful might have been rewarded, and the guilty punished: But, by giving the rebels a month's respite, Murray was enabled, to comfort his colleagues, by delusive hopes, and Elizabeth had leisure to deceive both Mary, and the rebels, by her dissimulation.

No sooner had the King, and Queen, returned to Edinburgh, than they found, that the rebels had gathered strength, in Dumfries-shire. They issued proclamations, for collecting the royal forces, at Biggar, on the 9th of October.

^z *Privy Council Reg.*

^a The Household books ascertain the dates of the several movements of the Court; Keith 316, was misled, by Knox, to state, that the King, and Queen, returned, from Dundee to St. Andrews, and thence to Edinburgh.

The court departed, on the 8th, for that convenient rendezvous, where they found an army of 18,000 men assembled. They now pushed, through the mountain pass, into Nithsdale, and arrived on the 10th of October, at Castlehill, near Durrisdeer, where a Privy Council was held, for regulating the command of the army : The van was placed under the orders of the feeble Lennox ; the King was to conduct the centre, accompanied by the faithless Morton, Bothwell, Ruthven, and other nobles ; and the rear was to be led by Huntley, Athole, and other Lords.^b But, an army thus composed of such discordant troops, and thus led by treachery, was incapable of any effort. With it, however, the King, and Queen, marched forward to Dumfries, on the 11th of October : and Murray, and other leaders of his treacherous cause, finding that, with their inferior force, they could not withstand so great an army, fled into England, where they had been assured of safety ; and where, they were, kindly, received by Bedford, Elizabeth's lieutenant, who had come, with some force, from Berwick to Carlisle. Thus ended Murray's rebellion, the duke's imprudence, Cecil's artifices, and Elizabeth's perfidy, without the loss of a single life ;

^b Keith's *App.* 115.

the leaders of the Queen's army having taken especial care, that the two armies should never meet.

While the King, and Queen, remained, at Dumfries, Sir John Maxwell, the Warden of the west borders, seeing the cause of the rebels hopeless, made his submission, and was pardoned, and continued, in his office, by the Queen's clemency. After remaining a few days here, and visiting Lochmaban Castle, the Queen, and court, returned to Edinburgh, on the 18th of October. The Earl of Bothwell, the Lieutenant of the borders, was left, with a force, on the western march, to observe the rebels, and to overawe the clan of the Elliots of Lidisdale, which had been corrupted by the English government.^c And, the Earl of Lennox, the Lieutenant of the south-western shires, resumed his station, at Glasgow, to watch the movements of Argyle, and Boyd, as well as, to preserve the peace within his lieutenancy.

Meantime, Randolph remained, at Edinburgh, meditating mischief, and writing calumnious letters to his court, in hopes of inciting Elizabeth, and Cecil, to support Murray, and to oppose the King, and Queen.^d The

^c Keith's *App.* 116, 165 : Bedford's letters to Cecil of the 24th and 26th of October, 1565, in the Paper Office.

^d Keith's *App.* 165.

artifices of Elizabeth, and the coldness of Cecil, after all the efforts of the rebels, in pursuance of their wishes, threw the expatriated lords into despair: Yet, while the English Queen, publicly disavowed the traitors, before the ambassadors of France, and Spain, she allowed them, to reside on the Scottish borders, and supplied them with money, by the friendly hands of Bedford, her lieutenant, at Berwick.^e The Duke of Chattelherault perceiving, that they could not, soon, return to their country, and that the estates of the rebels were in danger, made peace, and obtained his pardon, on the easy condition, of living abroad, where he could no more be led astray, by Murray's machinations: Yet, the expatriation of the heir presumptive of the crown, removed a great stumbling block, from Murray's way, who aimed to be the first person. Such was the end of the disgraceful revolt against Darnley's marriage with the Queen, which portended nothing less than the imprisonment of Lennox, and his son, in the Tower of Elizabeth, and the imprisonment of Mary, in the Castle of Lochleven.

After such a termination of such a rebellion, the King, and Queen, enjoyed the festivities of Christmas, at Edinburgh. In the beginning of

^e Strype's *Annals*, i. 475; Bedford's accounts in the Paper Office.

January 1565-6, the King, who delighted more in the sports of the field, than the business of the cabinet, went into Peebleshire to enjoy, for a few days, the diversions of the chase.^f The King soon returned to Edinburgh, where he indulged, as usual, his sensual passions ; and continued to harass the Queen, by his frequent importunities, for *the crown matrimonial*.^g

About the same time, the King, and Queen, resolved to cause Murray, and his guilty associates, to be, condignly, punished, as traitors : For this exemplary end, the expatriated nobles were summoned to appear in Parliament, on the 4th of February 1565-6, to hear themselves adjudged guilty of treason.^h Other measures were taken, to strengthen the ruling powers, and to weaken their opponents. Meanwhile, Mons. Ramboulet arrived from France, as the bearer of the order of St. Michael, from Charles IX., to Darnley, who was far too weak, to support, with any sufficiency, such accumulated honours.ⁱ

^f See Lennox's letter of the 26th of December 1565, not 1566, in Keith's *Pref.* vii.

^g Randolph's letters to Cecil of the 16th, and 24th of January 1565-6 ; Keith's *App.* 166.

^h Keith, 370 : The nobles, who were thus summoned, were the Earls of Argyle, Murray, Glencairne, and Rothes, and the Lords Ucheltre, Boyd, and others. ⁱ *Ib.* 325.

We are, indeed, assured, by the contemporary Melvill,^k that after the marriage of Darnley to the Queen, which had thus been accomplished, by so many hazards, Mary did great honour to Darnley herself, and desired every one, who expected her favour, to pay him similar attention.¹ She requested Melvill to wait upon the King, who was but young, and give him his best counsel, as Melvill had formerly counselled her, which might enable his inexperience to shun many inconveniences. Melvill, who was an old adherent of Murray, and did not deviate, from his ancient principles, took the liberty of advising the Queen, to pardon Murray, and his associates: But, to this she answered, as he informs us, when they can do no better, they sought her; but, when she sought their concurrence, they would not listen to her requests; no more would she now notice their suits.^m Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was, also, induced, by him, to write a persuasive letter to the Scottish Queen, in favour of the guilty lords;ⁿ and she is said, to have been

^k *Mem.* 58.

¹ There did not exist, at that time, in Scotland, any establishment, like the Lords of the Bedchamber, and other similar officers, who form the King's court.

^m *Mem.* 59.

ⁿ See it, in *Mel. Mem.* 60-3.

softened, by the motives, which Throckmorton laid before her, with his wonted talents. Murray even courted Rizzio, her French Secretary, by promises, and gifts, to favour his solicited return: Rizzio is said to have engaged to give his assistance, the rather, “that he perceived “the King to bear him little good will, and to “frown upon him.”^o The fact is, that Rizzio had been the faithful counsellor of Darnley, from his arrival till his marriage, though he was now recompensed by frowns: Darnley seems to have known nothing of that maxim of Charles II., which taught him, “to quarrel “with no one, as he might soon be obliged to “act with him.”

Of Rizzio, whose fate has attracted the notice of history, it may be of use, to give some additional particulars, to the scanty memoirs, which have been supplied by the Scottish annalists: David Rizzio was a Savoyard, born, at Turin, of poor parents, and came to Edinburgh, with the Duke of Savoy's Ambassador, at the end of 1561: He was soon appointed a valet of the Queen's chamber. We may see, in the Treasurer's books, several payments to him,

^o *Ib.* 63.

which show his several stations.^p He became French secretary, in December 1564, as we learn, from Randolph, who informed Cecil, that Raulet, the Queen's secretary, for the French, being removed, for improper conduct, Rizzio, an Italian, supplied his place.^q We are told, by Melvill,^r that her majesty had three valets of her chamber, who sung three parts, and wanting a *basse*, they told the Queen of this man, as one fit, to make the fourth, in a concert: But, we know, from the Treasurer's books, that the Queen had an establishment of

^p On the 8th of January 1561-2 was paid to Rizzio 50*l.* as *virlet* in the Queen's chalmer: On the 15th of April 1562, he was paid 15*l.* as *chalmer chield*, [usher, or page.] There were four quarters payments made him, in 1564, at the rate of 80*l.* a year, as *virlet* of the Queen's chalmer. [*Treasurer's Accounts.*]

^q Keith, 268. On the 1st of August 1565, there were furnished David Rizzio, by the King, and Queen's precept, black taffeta, worth, 5*l.* 4, and black satin worth 6*l.* On the 24th, Rizzio was supplied with money, for a bed, and furniture: And he seems to have now acted, as privy purse to the King, and Queen; as money was imprested to him, for the King, and pages: And on the 28th of February 1565-6, he was paid, by the Queen's precept, 2000*l.* in part of 10,000 marks, owing to the Queen, from the *comptoir* of the coinage, for the space of two years.

^r *Mem.* 54.

five *sangsters* ; of five violaris [violins ;] three lute players, and trumpeters, and *hewbois* : Yet, the same record does not notice Rizzio, as a musician of any kind ; though he may have joined, in the Queen's concert. Melvill goes on to tell an improbable story of Rizzio's meddling, and of the publick envy, and concludes, by assuring us, *that Rizzio was a known minion of the Pope.*^s Of the tales, which were told, at the eve of a conspiracy, to inflame popular indignation against that stranger, who appears to have been an honest man, and an useful servant to the Queen, there is no end : Had the Queen's other Secretary, Maitland, been as honest, and as faithful to his mistress, many crimes, and much misery had been prevented. Joseph, the brother of David Rizzio, is said to have succeeded him as secretary.^t

Darnley, who had little genius, from nature, had hitherto been taught nothing, in the school of adversity, the great instructor of mankind.

^s *Mem.* 55. The Earl of Bedford, indeed, in his letter to Cecil, calls Rizzio that great *enemy of religion*.

^t Whatever there may be in that intimation, there is certainly a letter remaining, from the Queen to Drury, of the 17th of January 1566-7 ; desiring him to detain Joseph Riccio, an Italian, *our domestick*, who had left Scotland with his friend's money.

He had early offended Murray, the most powerful noble of Scotland, by free speaking; he disregarded the experience of Melvill; and he frowned on Rizzio: He was, constantly, attended, in his boyish career, by George Douglas, a bastard son of the late Earl of Angus, and a brother of Lady Lennox, a man of utter profligacy, and a proper instrument in the hands of the Earl of Morton, the Chancellor, who was the most profound, and perfidious miscreant of a villainous age. This guilty lord, we may remember, was one of those nobles, who remained, during the late rebellion of Murray, in the Queen's court, and councils, for the very purpose of betraying her, and befriending Murray. With him remained, in the same treacherous predicament, Secretary Maitland, the ablest, and artfullest statesman of his country. The Lords Ruthven, and Lindsay, as well as others, had, also, remained with the Queen, with the odious design of deluding their sovereign to her ruin.^u

In the meantime, came from France Mons. Villemont, with instructions, from the French King, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Queen's

^u With Randolph's beforementioned information to Cecil, from his own knowledge, concurred the intelligent Melvill. *Mem.* 64.

uncle, to advise the Queen, not to pardon the expatriated nobles, who lurked about Newcastle. The Queen was thus confirmed, in her private opinion, that the banished traitors ought to be attainted, at the ensuing Parliament.

Amidst all those intrigues, the deluded Darnley was induced to believe, that he had not obtained *the crown matrimonial*, which consisted in nothing more, than a participation, in the government, while his wife, the real sovereign, held the sceptre.* Whispers were now constantly made, in the inexperienced ears of the youthful king, that he did not enjoy the *matri-*

* The old law, and history, of Scotland knew nothing of *a crown matrimonial*. Celtick Scotland knew nothing of *female heirs*: But, Saxon Scotland was very favourable to such heirs: And, it was, in that period, the established practice, when a countess married a gentleman, the husband became a *matrimonial Earl*, and during the life of his spouse, acted as an Earl. Even at the accession to the crown of Alexander III., his grand-daughter, *the maiden of Norway*, who was courted by the many arts of Edward I. for his son, we hear nothing of *a crown matrimonial*; his aim being to acquire the direct sovereignty of a distracted kingdom. But, when Mary Steuart was to marry the Dauphin of France, then did the French statesmen claim the *crown matrimonial*, which the Scottish Parliament granted. Upon this concession, and analogy, Mary caused Darnley to be proclaimed King, and he was admitted into the government, with her, as much as his capacity enabled him to act.

monial crown, the fashion of which he knew not, and his childish ambition was prompted, to grasp at the real crown, which was worn by his wife, with the assistance of Murray, who had his heart, and hand, upon the same gaudy object. Lennox, who was not much wiser, than his son, was so imprudent, as to concur with those, who were deluding Darnley to his destruction.^y Need we, then, to be surprised, that Darnley, thus inexperienced, and thus tutored, should have entered into formal contracts with Murray, who hated him, and who courted the

^y *Mel. Mem.* 64. It is indeed quite certain, that Lennox was completely engaged with his son, and Morton, in the conspiracy against the Queen, his benefactress. Knox, 393, says the king, and *his father subscribed the bond to the conspirators*. Morton is said, to have met Lennox, and Darnley, in Lennox's chamber, to conclude, formally, upon the terms of the conspiracy, which had the relief of Murray, for its end, though by the wickedest of means: Here, they came to an agreement; and Lennox, and Darnley, engaged, for themselves, as well as, for the Countess of Lennox, to renounce all claims on the Earldom of Angus, in favour of Morton's nephew: Morton, on his part, having obtained thus much, agreed to assist the King, in obtaining the crown matrimonial, for life. Godscroft, 289. In consequence of that agreement, Lennox went into England, to acquaint the expatriated nobles, with the terms of it, and to bring them nearer the borders, for their more effectual concurrence. *Ib.* 289.

same royal mistress, to commit crimes of the most atrocious nature, which might end, in the death of his wife, and child, for obtaining the remission of Murray's treason, that he had committed, in opposing Darnley's marriage, upon so visionary a return, as Murray's aid? The fact is, that he did enter into such contracts, which were very common, and very necessary, in that religious, but immoral age.^z Those contracts were, sufficiently, traitorous; but, the bond of the 1st of March, only eight days before the assassination of Rizzio, is still more wicked. The assembly of the kirk, which was, no doubt, solicitous for *the religion*, which was suppoed to be in danger, from *the minion of the Pope*, concurred, zealously, in that odious plot, by directing appropriate prayers, and appointing significant fasts, for the faithful; in order to inflame the populace against their Queen.^a Elizabeth, and Cecil, were also

^z See copies of those formal contracts, in Goodall, i. 227-33. There remains also a bond, of Darnley, calling *himself King of Scotland*, and *husband of the Queen's majesty*, dated the 1st of March 1565-6; whereby he engages to save harmless all those lords, and others, who might assist him, in removing Rizzio, and other persons, from the Queen's presence: this detestable document remains in the *Cot. Lib.* Col. B. x. fol. 212.

^a Knox, 389-90-92: It was the assembly, which met, at

informed of this conspiracy, its means, and its end, by Bedford, and Randolph, from Berwick.^b

After all those intrigues, and contracts, recommendations of the assembly, and fasting of the zealots, the unfortunate Rizzio, who had acted, faithfully, to his trust, was assassinated, on the 9th of March 1565-6, in the Queen's closet, within the palace of Holyrood: the pregnant Queen sitting therein, at supper, with the Countess of Argyle, her sister.^c Her husband, Darnley, led the assassins into the Queen's closet. Lennox's servants were present, as active agents. Morton, her Chancellor; and Maitland, her Secretary! the Lord Register, and Lord Justice Clerk, were all active assassins: Lord Ruthven, and Lord Lindsay, were two of the principal conspirators.

Edinburgh, on the 25th of December 1565, which was attended by the principal conspirators; and which pursued, under their influence, those unchristian, as well as treasonous measures.

^b By their letters, in the Paper Office, of the 6th, and 8th of March 1565-6.

^c It is very horrid to observe how coldly Secretary Cecil recorded that horrible murder, in his *Diary*: "9th March, M. David the Scots Queen's secretary slain, in Scotland." Murdin, 761. Elizabeth, and Cecil, were accessaries to that assassination! Keith, 282, and the above MS. letters.

George Douglas, the King's relation, struck the unhappy victim, with the King's dagger, over the Queen's shoulder:^d Andrew Ker of Fawdonside presented a pistol to her bosom: So tragick, and so terrible, a scene was never acted, in any other country, or age. It was remarked, by Tytler, the vindicator of Mary, that there were a thousand dark passages, in Edinburgh, wherein Rizzio might have been dispatched: But, the Queen's closet was plainly chosen, with the apparent hope, that Mary, and her unborn infant, could not outlive such a tragedy. The actors, including Darnley, were all guilty of treason, and forfeited their lives, and fortunes, to the offended laws of God, and man.^e

^d George Douglas, the Queen refused to pardon, when she forgave Morton, as she recollected his brutality: But Morton, who was a Protestant, without morals, or religion, made the assassin bishop of Murray, in 1573. Keith's *Bishops*, 89.

^e Godscroft, 393: The great convention of nobles, and prelates, at Dumbarton, in September 1568, observe, indeed, that it had been the intention of the guilty men, who proposed the divorce of Darnley, from the Queen, "to get him convicted of treason, because he consented to the Queen's retention in ward." [Goodall, ii. 359.] There is a list of the guilty traitors, in an Act of Privy Council, dated the 19th of March 1565-6, in Keith's *App.* 130, which evinces how widely spread that conspiracy had been: But,

On the morrow, while the Queen was a prisoner, in her palace, Darnley prorogued the Parliament, which had met, on the 7th of the same month; as he had stipulated, with the conspirators. Murray, and his guilty associates, arrived, at Edinburgh, the same day; having been conducted in safety, by Lord Home, the Warden of the East-march, under the King's orders. During the momentous intrigues, which followed the murder of Rizzio, while the traitorous nobles were concerting ulterior measures against the Queen, Mary, by great efforts of address, and fortitude, induced Darnley to quit the associates of his guilt, and flee with her to Dunbar-castle, in the night of the 11th of March. Here, the well-affected lords, with their followers, soon assembled around her. And on the 19th of March, the Queen, and Darnley, entered Edinburgh, with an overpowering force. Vigorous steps were now taken

the chancellor, Earl of Morton, was the soul of the conspiracy, and had the greatest following; as he was the most profligate, and daring. Yet were there only two inconsiderable persons condemned, and executed, for that atrocious treason. Darnley, and his father, who were two of the principal conspirators, the Queen, virtually, forgave, and even did not reproach either of them, for their crimes, for their ingratitude.

against the odious conspirators.^f Murray, and Argyle, by the Queen's command, departed from Edinburgh, to Argyleshire; but, were after a while pardoned, recalled to court, and taken into favour. The chiefs of the conspiracy fled various ways. Morton, Ruthven, and others, sought shelter, at Berwick, the usual refuge of Scottish criminals. It is one of the singular revolutions of that busy moment, that Morton, and his associates in murder, took the same places, in England, which Murray, and his colleagues, in rebellion, had just left: And Elizabeth, and Cecil, protected all offenders, against the Scottish Queen, of whatever rank, and for whatever cause, though contrary to treaty. On the 20th of March, Darnley, finding himself neglected by the great, reviled by the many; and feeling some of the compunctions of nature, issued a proclamation; for silencing rumours, and whispers among the people, on this unhappy subject, the cruel murder which

^f A little before the Queen's entrance into the town, all that knew of her *cruel pretence*, says Knox, fled; Mr. James MacGill, the Clerk Register, the Justice Clerk, the town Clerk of Edinburgh; the Chief Secretary Maitland had gone before. John Knox passed into Kyle. *Hist.* 1732, p. 395. This representation is confirmed, by documents in the Paper Office.

had been committed, in the Queen's presence, and of the treasonable detention of her royal person.^g Nothing more was wanting to the degradation of Darnley, than to deny, thus, his activity, in this aggravated murder, and his committing so many treasons, whereof every one, in Edinburgh, knew him to be guilty:^h His proclamation was heard, by some, with derision, by others, with disdain: But, what was of more fatal consequence to the unhappy King, by his misconduct, he incurred the hatred of Murray, and Morton, and other powerful, and unscrupulous men, whose instrument he had merely been;ⁱ It did not enter into his

^g That proclamation, which sealed the disgrace of the conspirators, and Darnley, was transcribed, from the Cotton Library, Calig. B. ix. fol. 213; and published, in Goodall, i. 280.

^h It must be remembered, however, that the narrative of that murder, which was soon after published, in Lord Ruthven's name, who was then dead, but which was, in fact, one of Cecil's pamphlets, declared *the King*, falsely, to be the author of the whole conspiracy. Darnley was unable to form so comprehensive a conspiracy. The genius of Maitland, probably, conceived it: the daring of Morton executed it; and Darnley was, only, duped into such crimes, by conspirators, who were much more able, and artful, than so weak a prince: he ere long fell a sacrifice himself to such a conspiracy, which was contrived, and executed, by the same persons, who only used a different dupe.

ⁱ Keith, 236. He denied to the Queen, and her Privy

comprehension, that if his wife, and child, had perished, on the 9th of March, with Rizzio, the King could not have been a King, for a week.^k

However the Queen may have mollified the conduct of Darnley, confidentially to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador: Yet, in private, she lamented the King's folly, ingratitude, and misbehaviour:^l By the Queen, however, he was easily pardoned: But, by Murray, and his faction, Darnley was never forgiven. To this distinction, historians are not sufficiently attentive: The quarrels of husband, and wife, are easily made up: but the resentments of party-men, during such an age, were implacable. In order to calumniate the Queen, it was given out, that the murdered Rizzio was buried, in the royal vault of the Scottish Kings. But, besides the improbability

Council, his concern in this conspiracy, any further than wishing the restoration of Murray, and his friends.

^k When the King, and Queen, were safe in the castle of Dunbar, Murray sent a confidential person to *the Queen*, but not to the King, to ask forgiveness, and pardon. Feeling this contempt, Darnley asked the messenger, if Murray had not written to him; but the messenger answered No, only to the Queen. In this specimen of neglect, Darnley saw what was to be expected, if by any accident to the Queen, he had remained *King matrimonial*, for life.

^l Mel. Mem. 66.

of this, we know from contemporary annals, that he was buried, in the church-yard of Holyrood-house.^m

When the Queen returned to Edinburgh, she took up her residence, in the Castle ; wishing to avoid the recollection of such a bloody scene, in Holyrood-house. She was soon after advised, by her Privy Council, under the suggestion of Murray, to remain, in the castle, till the period of her delivery had passed. The Queen now employed herself in the laudable endeavours of reconciling the discordant nobles to each other, who amid such distractions, had so many causes of variance. She also became reconciled herself to Darnley, as we know from Randolph's letter to Cecil.ⁿ She recalled to her councils, and favour, the Earls of Murray, Argyle, and Glencairn ;^o Murray having thus obtained his place, at court, naturally took the lead in her councils. Argyle, and Murray, the Queen's two brothers, lodged within the castle, a favour, which was denied to Bothwell, and to the other nobles. The day of the Queen's delivery was looked forward to, by the statesmen of England, as well as of Scotland, with

^m See *Annals of Scotland*, by Majorybanks, 18 ; with the editor's note.

ⁿ In the Paper Office.

^o Keith, 336.

great anxiety, on account of the accidents, which might happen, and the revolution, that those accidents might produce. In the absence of the legal heir-presumptive to the crown, it is apparent, that Murray having possession of the castle, and the support of so great a faction, would have seized the government, with the sceptre. She made her last will, in several copies ; she wrote on the 18th of June a letter to the Warden of Berwick to supply post horses to the honourable envoy, who was to bear the tidings of her fate to her good sister of England. On the morrow, before ten o'clock, in the morning, was the Queen delivered, happily, of her son, James ; to the great joy of the citizens of Edinburgh, to the disappointment of Murray and Morton, Randolph and Cecil, and the mortification of her good friend, Queen Elizabeth,^p who had been induced to expect a dead, rather than, a living son.

The Queen, soon after, in quest of air, and amusement, passed along the Forth to Alloa-house, the seat of the Earl of Mar ; accompanied by the Earls of Murray, Bothwell, the High Admiral, and Mar, the hospitable lord of the mansion, with other courtiers ; Darnley followed her, by land, as it was not to him

^p Keith, 338 ; Birrel's *Diary*, 5 ; Holinshed, i. 383.

agreeable to be shut up in a ship, with those, who hated him, and whom he hated; and, at Alloa-house, joined her, the French Ambassador, who endeavoured to reconcile the nobles to Darnley, and what was of more importance, to reconcile Darnley to himself. The Queen only remained, on that occasion, a day, or two, at Alloa;^a having returned to Edinburgh: But, she went back to Alloa, a few days after, where she received her criminal secretary, Maitland; and where, with her Privy Council, she determined to hold a Justice-air, at Jedburgh, which, by singular artifice, has become famous, in the loose annals of Buchanan's scandal. The court again returned, from Alloa, in a few days, to Edinburgh.

At the end of ten days, the King, and Queen, with their court, went into the forests of Pee-

^a On the 29th of July 1566, there is a charge, in the Treasurer's books, of 10s. paid a boy, passing, from Edinburgh, with close [sealed] writings to the Queen, at Alloa. She returned to Holyrood-house, on the 31st of July; she went back to Alloa, on the 3d of August; and in a few days returned to Edinburgh. *Privy Seal Register*. Dates are of great importance, when so many writers disregard facts, in their endeavours to calumniate the Queen: It was reserved, for Buchanan's falsehood to say, that she went to Alloa, with pirates.

bles, for the recreation of hunting.^r But, they had not much entertainment, owing to the scarcity of game. They now returned to Edinburgh, about the 21st of August. After remaining here awhile, the King, and Queen, with their court, went, at the beginning of September, to Stirling, in quest of amusement.^s As Scotland was governed, chiefly, by Murray's faction: as he himself continued to be the chief favourite of the Queen, whatever ill-informed history may say to the contrary; the

^r Keith, 345; Holinshed, 384: On the 12th of August, 1566, there is a charge, in the Treasurer's books, of 12s. which were paid a boy, passing with close writings, from the King, and Queen, to the Earl of Bothwell, to the Sheriff of Selkirk, and to the gude man of Torsance. These secret writings were, no doubt, commands, from the King and Queen, to make preparations for their sport. They were at Traquair on the 19th of August. *Privy Seal Reg.* On the 28th of August, there is a charge, in the Treasurer's books, of 40s. paid the Marchmont herald, for attending upon the King, and Queen, during the hunting.

^s Keith, 345: The fact of the King, and Queen, thus associating together, on various excursions, is minutely stated, in order to confute the gross misrepresentations of the Scottish historians, from that age, to the present, who inculcate, contrary to the fact, that Darnley followed the Queen, whilst she constantly repulsed the object of her hatred. Bedford wrote to Cecil, on the 9th of August, from Berwick, "that the Queen and her husband, according to reports, had been together, these two nights, at Alloa." Keith's *App.* 169.

court of Mary consisted almost altogether of Murray's friends: All those courtiers hated Darnley; and he hated them. When the King, accompanied his wife, his disdainful eyes, of course, constantly, beheld the objects of his hatred: And they, in their turn, looked on him, with indifferent regard.^t While the court was thus composed, and thus affected, it was in vain, for the Queen, to endeavour to reconcile Darnley to himself, far less to the nobles: His natural temper, his guilty conscience, his vicious habits, followed him wheresoever he went, and concurred with the world's disdain, to induce him to think of emigration, from a country, whose laws he had defied, and whose morals he had corrupted: But, he tried, without success, to flee, from his own feelings. While Darnley was thus agitated, the Queen, with her court, returned to Endinburgh on the 25th of September, in consequence of the calls of public business; leaving the King, at Stirling, who chose, to brood over his own fancies, and to follow his own amusements: He communicated to the French Ambassador, Le Croc, at that gloomy moment, the secret of his meditations,

^t The State papers concur, with history, in giving that representation of the King, of the Queen, and of the nobles, and men of business.

“ that he had a mind to go beyond sea.” The aged Le Croc said every thing, that he could properly urge, to persuade him from such an act of desperation. His father came to visit the King, while he meditated projects, which could only end in his own ruin : But, as he had flattered his son into folly, he could not, now, restrain him, within the limits of reason.^a At this moment, of his discontent, there was no one, in this kingdom, who regarded him, any further than he was agreeable to the Queen, who was now beloved, esteemed, and honoured.

At length, on the 29th of September 1566, the Queen received a letter, from Lennox ; signifying the King’s purpose, to leave Scotland, and his inability to prevent him, from execut-

^a Secretary Cecil, who allowed nothing to pass unheeded by him, hearing of a person, that had been in Scotland, and had conversed with Darnley, about his future projects ; caused this person to be examined, who said, that Lord Darnley sometimes talked of taking possession of Scarborough-castle, in Yorkshire, and at other whiles, of seizing one of the Scilley Islands. But, poor Darnley did not foresee the fate, that would have attended such an attack on Elizabeth’s sovereignty : She would have had him in prison, within a week, and on the block, within a fortnight. [A document in the Paper Office.]

ing his desperate resolution. On the same day, Darnley came, from Stirling, in a moody humour, to Holyrood-house, wherein was assembled the Queen, and her court. But, he would not enter the palace, till the Queen went out to receive him, and to conduct him to her private apartments. And during the night, she tried every art, in vain, to induce him to mention the cause of his offence, and to disclose the object of his voyage. On the morrow, she assembled the Privy Council, and caused the Bishop of Ross to lay Lennox's letter, before the counsellors, in the King's presence: But, he would not open himself before those lords, whom he hated, and feared. The Queen took him, by the hand, and besought him, for God's sake, to declare, if she had ever given him any occasion, for this resolution; and entreated him, to deal plainly, and not to spare her. The Privy Counsellors, also, besought him, to reveal the cause of his conduct: in order, that they might endeavour to remove the motive of his grief. He was at length induced, by such entreaties, to declare, that he had no ground, at all, given him, for such a resolution; and thereupon went out of the Chamber of Presence, saying to the Queen, *Adieu, madam, you shall not see my face, for a long time*: He bade the French Am-

bassador, *adieu*; and turning himself to the lords, he said, Gentlemen, *adieu*.^x

Darnley repaired to Glasgow, on a visit to his father. The Queen, and the Privy Counsellors, prepared, for the intended justice court, at Jedburgh. A few days after, the King sent to Le Croc, desiring to meet him, half-way between Glasgow and Edinburgh. Le Croc complied with his wishes: and found his father with him. The Ambassador now said every thing to him, that he thought, could in any manner move the king, to alter his preposterous project: And he left the king, in such a temper, as to induce him to remain in the kingdom, though Darnley could not conceal, that he had still some displeasure, as well as discontent.^y The Ambassador followed the Queen to

^x These curious particulars of Darnley's behaviour are, chiefly, taken, from the French Ambassador's letter of the 15th of October, 1566. [Keith, 345-7.] And see the instructive letter of the Lords of the Council to the queen-mother of France, dated the 8th of October, 1566; giving their account of the same transactions. [*Ib.* 347-50.]

^y There is a letter from Robert Melville, the Queen's agent, at London, and Murray's instrument, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Scots Ambassador, at Paris, dated, at London, the 22d of October 1566, that throws some light on this obscure subject: "The King, without opening himself, complained, that he is not regarded by the nobility, as he should; neither can he obtain such things, as he seeks,

Jedburgh, by appointment, to give her an account of the King's purpose.

All circumstances considered, the fate of Darnley appears to have been now decided, by the Scottish statesmen, who could no longer bear his follies. The letter of the Privy Counsellors to the Queen-mother of France, before-mentioned, is a proof of this: They show Darnley, to be without an excuse, for his gross misconduct: And, they represent the Queen to have said to him, before the Privy Council: She had a clear conscience; that in all her life, she had done no action, which could any way prejudice either his, or her own honour; but, that nevertheless, she might perhaps have given him offence, without design, she was willing to make such amends, as far as he should require: But, he declared, freely, *that the Queen had*

“ to wit, such persons, as the Secretary [Maitland], the Justice Clerk, the Clerk Register, to be put out of their offices; “ alleging that, they were guilty of the last odious fact, [the “ murder of Rizzio] whereof the Queen had taken trial, and “ found them meriting pardon.” Keith, 350-1. The Queen knew how to act, according to the circumstances, in which she found her affairs; but, Darnley did not: She knew the guilt of Maitland, her Secretary, and the two law-officers; but she was obliged to act with them. It ill became poor Darnley, to object such a fact to such men; considering that he had been himself one of the chief conspirators.

given him no occasion for any complaint.^z We must also recollect, what Secretary Cecil said, in 1560, of Secretary Maitland, that he was the only person, whom he had seen, in Scotland, *who could sustain the whole burden of foresight*: Yet, it was against such a man, that Darnley now pointed his resentment. Murray, and Maitland, the two leading men of Scotland, at that portentous moment, wrote their complimentary letters to Secretary Cecil, according to their wonted custom, when they looked forward for protection, before they set out for Jedburgh.

Darnley, in the meantime, remained with his father, at Glasgow. Murray, and Bothwell, and other nobles continued, at Edinburgh, on the 6th of October 1566: As the Queen's Lieutenant of the Borders, Bothwell was now sent forward, to make preparations, for the Justice courts; but, meeting with resistance, was in the hand severely wounded, on the 8th of October, by Elliot, of Park, whose head was sent

^z See Keith, 349. This letter of the Privy Council, which was, no doubt, written by Maitland, who was not only Secretary, but Chief Clerk of the Privy Council, is the best defence of the Queen's innocence, that can be conceived, against the calumnies of Buchanan, and Knox, as well as of Robertson, and Laing.

to Edinburgh.^a On the same day, before such an event could be learned at Edinburgh, the Queen, and nobles, and lawyers, set out from Edinburgh, to hold the long expected Justice courts, at Jedburgh.^b It appears, from the Treasurer's accounts, that those courts were held at Jedburgh, from the 9th of October to the 8th of November, inclusive. On the 28th of October, Darnley came to visit the Queen, after her recovery, from her dangerous illness ; but, he remained, only, one night, and conversed chiefly with the French Ambassador. Darnley thus showed his contempt, for the nobles ; and the nobles, equally showed their indifference, for him. Little did he know what had happened, during the extremity of the Queen's disorder, when she was expected every moment to expire. The nobles, then present, at Jedburgh, with Murray at their head, came to a resolution, in case of the Queen's demise,

^a See Birrel, ; Keith, 351 ; Robertson places that event on the 16th of October, instead of the 8th.

^b The Privy Council Register evinces, that a Council was held, at Jedburgh, on the 10th of October, at which were present the Earls of Murray, Rothes, and other members. The Privy Seal Register shows, that the Queen went, from Jedburgh, to Hermitage-castle, in Lidisdale, on the 16th of October.

to pass in a body to Edinburgh, and there to settle the government :^c It may easily be conceived, which of them would have been appointed regent, during the infancy of the prince ; considering that Murray's faction was all-powerful ; that the Duke of Chattelherault, the presumptive heir of the crown, resided, as a banished man, in France ; and that Darnley had not one noble, to support him. The unanimity, which existed among the Privy Counsellors, during the month, which they remained at Jedburgh [from the 9th October to 8th of November] may be regarded, as the calm, that usually precedes a storm. On the 9th the Queen, and her whole court, passed from Jedburgh to Kelso ; and on the morrow, as we know from the Privy Council Register, the *lords compositors* held a court, for composing some unsettled disputes. Here, the convalescent Queen, by the advice of her physician, no doubt, resolved to make a progress, throughout the fine country, called the Merse, attended by the Earl of Bothwell, the High Sheriff, by the neighbouring gentry, and eight hundred horsemen. Darnley was meantime, at Glasgow. During the four days, which the Queen, and her

^c See Bishop Lesley's letter, 27th October 1566, in Keith's *App.* 135.

court, remained, in her Castle of Dunbar, the same calm of unanimity prevailed; denoting some concert among the chiefs. The Queen wrote to her good sister of England: The Privy Counsellors, Huntley, the Chancellor, Murray, the Queen's chief adviser, and Bothwell, the Lieutenant of the Borders, wrote to Cecil, with regard to the Admiralty jurisdiction. When the Queen, and her court, departed, on the 19th, Secretary Maitland went to Whittingham, a place ominous of some design; whence, he wrote to Cecil, and also, to Morton, who lurked about Alnwick. All this while, Darnley remained with his father, at Glasgow; brooding over his discontent, like the boy, who passed his night, on the bridge, to vex his mother: He did not perceive the importance of being constantly with the Queen; and concealing his discontent with her ministers, under smiles, and good humour.

The Queen now remained at Craigmillar-castle, within a few miles of Edinburgh, from the 20th of November 1566 to the 5th of December, when she removed to her metropolis. She was still, as Le Croc assures us, in the hands of the physicians, not at all well, the principal part of her disease, consisting, according to his belief, in deep grief, and sorrow: and still repeating these words, *I could wish to*

be dead.^d The King, her husband, returned to see her, on the 26th of November, when he remained a week with her. But, as Le Croc assures us, Darnley sent to desire the Ambassador to speak with him near Edinburgh; when Le Croc, found, from Darnley's conversation, that things went still worse and worse: Le Croc gave it as his ingenuous opinion, that he did not expect any good understanding, between them, unless God effectually put to his hand: The King will never humble himself, as he ought; the Queen cannot perceive any nobleman speaking with him, but she supposes some contrivance among them: Such, then, are the representations of that experienced courtier, from what he heard, and saw. The King, he added, intends to go away, on the 3d of December; but, Le Croc foretold, very truly, that the King would not be present, at the baptism of his son.^e

Meantime, Murray, and Maitland, had not allowed occurrences to glide, unheeded, before their artful eyes, from Michaelmas 1566, the epoch of Darnley's examination, before the

^d Le Croc's, the Ambassador, letter, 2d of December 1566, in Keith's *Pref.* vii.

^e Le Croc's, the Ambassador, letter, 2d of December 1566, in Keith's *Pref.* vii.

Privy Council, till the Queen and King's return to Craigmillar-castle: They had seen more nearly than Le Croc, that things went worse and worse; that the Queen's health, and spirits, were wasted, by sorrow; that the King, notwithstanding the sage remonstrances of Le Croc, could not be cured of his absurdities, which were equally dangerous to himself, and distressful to his wife. Murray, and Maitland had early determined to rid themselves of a prince, whom no one cared for, while he cared little for any one: accordingly, at Craigmillar, they matured their plot into shape: They had already communicated their purpose to Morton; they had easily induced Bothwell to join them: And, their first object consisted, in obtaining the Queen's consent to a divorce, from Darnley: reserving, as a secret, their second object, if they should obtain the first, to impeach in Parliament that hated prince, of treason, and put him to a formal death, as a traitor. In concurrence with Bothwell, and Murray, Maitland, made the proposal to the Queen, for a divorce, from her unworthy husband, while she remained, in Craigmillar-castle: But, the Queen resisted the proposal so firmly, and she desired so solemnly, that nothing should be done, which would spot her honour, or affect her conscience, wishing rather

to let the matter rest, till God, of his goodness, put remeed thereto, they clearly saw, that she would not be prevailed on, to give her assent to a divorce ; So that, they were thus induced to change their avowed purpose, to a direct attack upon Darnley's life ; to make Bothwell, whom they hated, their instrument, by offering to his ambition the subsequent marriage of the widowed Queen, with indemnity, for his safety ; the conspirators knowing, at the same time, that they could easily, upon the death of Darnley, and the marriage of the Queen to the King's murderer, push aside Bothwell, and dethrone the Queen ; so as to let in Murray to the vice-regal chair ; being sure of the approbation of Elizabeth, and the concurrence of Cecil.^f

^f For the proofs of those projects, and that conspiracy, which could only have been executed, in such a country, among such a people, see the Protestation of Huntley, the Chancellor, and Argyle, the Justice General, who relate what they saw, and understood, of that well-concerted plot. Goodall, ii 316-21 ; see Murray's feeble answer. *Ib.* 321-22. And see the instructions of the great convention of nobles, and prelates, at Dumbarton, 12th September 1568. *Ib.* 354-66, which is a strong confirmation, of Huntley and Argyle's narrative : But, the strongest proof of all is the conspiracy of Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland, at Whittingham, and their ultimate convictions, for the murder, and punishment of Maitland, and Morton, and Bothwell, for their guilt. Moreover, the terrible events, which happened, by a syste-

The queen, after all those events, in the midst of bad health, and worse spirits, removed from Craigmillar to Edinburgh, on the 5th of December 1566, as we know from the Privy Seal record; Darnley having set out, for Stirling, two days before, after remaining a week with the queen, and opening his guilty mind to Le Croc. The queen, as we learn, from the same record, remained at Edinburgh, doing the publick business, till the 10th of December, when she set out, for Stirling, to the approaching baptism of her son. When Darnley departed from Craigmillar on the 3d of December, his undecided mind had not determined, whether to be present, at the baptism of his child, or to

mattick sequence, are so many facts, that are proofs, the most positive, of a deep laid conspiracy: The murder of Darnley, by Bothwell, and his coadjutors, in crime; his subsequent acquittal, by the management of Maitland, and Morton; the marriage of Bothwell to the Queen, by the most singular combination of artifice, violence, and circumvention, under the same management of Morton, and Maitland; the immediate desertion of Bothwell, by the conspirators, after they had accomplished their promised marriage; the dethronement of the Queen, without any cause, except as the necessary sequence of the conspiracy; and the elevation of Murray, as regent, by the appointment of the legitimate sovereign, who was dethroned, and imprisoned, are all decisive proofs, as holy writ, of those same events having happened, in pursuance of conspiracy, and design.

remove to Glasgow, where he might enjoy the feeble communication of his father : Like other irresolute characters, he did not adopt either plan ; but, remained, in Stirling-castle, without being present at the baptism ; yet, showing to the ambassadors of the several princes, who had come, from afar, to witness this splendid ceremony, that the king was playing the fool, while the queen acted like herself : like a woman, highly accomplished ; like a princess of great knowledge of what was due to every one. On Tuesday, the 17th of December, the baptism of King James, in the Chapel of Stirling-castle, at four o'clock in the afternoon, was solemnized by John, Archbishop of St. Andrews.^s Darnley, also, had his mortifications

^s Goodall, i. 320, from a record of Newton, the Archdeacon of Dumblain, who states the princes, and peers, who were present. And see Le Croc's intelligent letter of the 22d of December, from Stirling, for his account of this ceremony. "The king," he adds, "had still given out, that he would depart, two days before the baptism ; but, when the time came on, he made no sign of removing, at all ; still keeping close to his apartment : The very day of the baptism, he sent three several times, desiring me either to come, and see him, or to appoint him an hour, that he could come to me, in my lodgings : so that I found myself obliged, at last, to signify to him, that seeing he was in no good correspondence with the queen, I had it in charge from the Most Christian king, to have no conference with

to sustain, at that splendid ceremony; the several ambassadors knew how he had conducted himself, since his marriage; and Bedford, Elizabeth's representative, on that occasion, declined to give him the title of king. Yet, he lingered, a week longer, in Stirling-castle, before he could resolve on seeking amusement, and solace, in his father's society, at Glasgow.

During that festivity, and some days thereafter, the Earl of Bedford, acting for Elizabeth, and Cecil, solicited the pardon, and recall of Morton, with his guilty colleagues, in Rizzio's murder. He was seconded, by Murray, who had derived his own pardon, from the crimes

him: And I caused it to be told him, likewise, that as it would not be very proper for him to come to my lodgings, because there was such a crowd of company there: So, he might know, that there were two passages to it; and if he should enter by the one, I would be constrained to go out by the other. His deportment is incurable; nor can there be ever any good expected of him, for several reasons, that I might tell you, if I were present with you. I cannot pretend to fortel how all may turn; but, I will say, that matters cannot subsist long as they are, without being accompanied with bad consequences.—The queen behaved herself, admirably well, all the time of the baptism; and showed so much earnestness to entertain all the goodly company, in the best manner, that this made her forget, in a good measure, her former ailments.

of Morton, and his co-assassins: The Earl of Bothwell, who was now leagued with Murray, in a fresh conspiracy, lent his aid to their powerful solicitations. The Earl of Athol, who acted, from the influence of Maitland, concurred in the strong solicitations, for Morton's pardon. The other lords also expressed their wishes for Morton's restoration: All but Darnley seemed now to concur, in that solicitation, for the pardon of so great, and so many criminals. Influenced, by such a co-operation of powerful solicitors, the queen consented to pardon Morton, and his colleagues, including the notorious Archibald Douglas, the brother of Douglas of Whittingham, who soon acted a prominent part, as the confidential agent of Morton, in the murder of Darnley; all but George Douglas, who had led Darnley astray, and Andrew Kerr, who had, brutishly, presented a pistol to the queen's bosom.^h

^h The calumniators of Mary have even said, that it was the ascendancy of Bothwell over her, which procured that pardon for Morton, and his coadjutors: But, the following unpublished letter of Bedford to Cecil, on the 30th of December 1566, from Hallyards, in Fife, will ascertain the whole truth: "The queen here hath now granted to the Earl of Morton, to the Lords Ruthven, and Lindsay, their relaxation, and pardon: The Earl of Murray hath done very friendly towards the queen for them; so have I, according to

The pardons thus solicited, and thus obtained, formed one of the steps, which conducted the great conspiracy towards the ultimate fate of the wretched Darnley. The queen, on the 24th of December 1566, signed Morton's pardon, with that of *seventy-six* of his associates.ⁱ Of such a pardon, Darnley heard with great indignation: and, on the same day, departed from Stirling towards Glasgow, without taking leave.^k The ambassadors, soon after, left Stirling. The Earl of Bedford went with the Earl of Murray through Fife, to St. Andrews; "where," he says, "he had much honour, great cheer, and courteous entertainment." The queen now visited Lord Drummond, at Drummond-castle, to dissipate some of her sorrow-

your advice: The Earls Bothwell, and Athol, and all other lords helped therein, or else such pardons could not so soon have been gotten: George Douglas, and Andrew Kerr, are especially excepted, and can get no pardon." [The original is in the Paper Office.]

ⁱ *Privy Seal Reg.*

^k Robertson, mistakingly, supposes the abrupt departure of Darnley owing to the alarm given him, by the rumour of a design to seize, and imprison him; and for this rumour, he quotes Keith's *Pref.* viii; but, he omits to state the time of Darnley's abrupt departure, from Stirling, with the time of the report, which was subsequent; and so, could not have given him any alarm.

ful days.¹ Mary's neglect of the king, on that occasion, was equal to that, with which he had treated her, during her illness, at Jedburgh, says Robertson, ignorantly: Notwithstanding the king's danger, continues he, she amused

¹ Keith, 363-4. She returned from Drummond-castle, on the 28th of December. [*Privy Seal Reg.* xxxv. p. 114.] She wrote on the same day, at least dispatched a letter, to the Earl of Murray, at St. Andrews; as we know from the Treasurer's accounts. She remained, at Stirling, to the 30th, when she went to Tullibardin, to visit her chamberlain: she returned, as we learn, from the Privy Seal Register, to Stirling, on the 1st of January 1566-7, where she was joined, by the Earl of Bedford, who returned the same day with Murray, from Fife. On the 3d of January, she prepared her answers for Bedford, and wrote to Elizabeth a letter to be carried, by him. He took leave of the queen, at Stirling, on the 5th of January, and on the 6th departed, from Edinburgh, for Berwick. Hearing, at this time, of Darnley being taken ill of the small-pox, at Glasgow, she sent her own physician to attend him; as we know from Bedford's letter to Cecil, of the 9th of January. The fictitious Journal of Buchanan, and Murray, couples Bothwell with the queen, throughout that period, as if they had been husband and wife; by stating that they returned together, on the 31st of December, to Stirling; and there remained to the 14th of January: Now; the Privy Council Register shows, that Bothwell was not among the lords, with the queen, at Stirling, on the 2d and on the 10th of January: For, in the Privy Councils, which she held there, on those days, there were present, the Earl of Huntley, the Chan-

herself with excursions to different parts of the country, and suffered near a month to elapse, before she visited him, at Glasgow. Poor Robertson ! When he declaimed thus, he did not recollect, that the Queen had an infant to care for, and did not know, that she had sent her own physician, to care, for Darnley.

Meantime, the Queen set out from Stirling, with her son, the prince, for Edinburgh, on the 13th of January 1566-7. She came to Callendar, on the evening of the same day ; and on the morrow, the 14th, she arrived, at Edinburgh.^m

cellor, the Earls of Argyle, Murray, Caithness, and Sutherland, the Bishops of Ross, and Galloway, the Secretary Maitland, and her other officers of state ; but, the Earl of Bothwell was not present ; being very differently occupied. [*Privy Council Reg.* of those dates ; and Keith, 570.] We know, from Drury's letter to Cecil of the 23d of January, that Morton had, scarcely, returned to Whittingham, after his pardon, when Bothwell, and Maitland, waited on him there : Upon what business ? Only, the murder of Darnley. From the epoch of this conspiracy of Craigmillar [the last week of November] it became quite ridiculous, in Buchanan, and Murray's Journal, to place Bothwell, constantly, along side of the queen. Their object plainly, was, to conceal Bothwell's real measures.

^m Birrel states, that they came to Edinburgh, on the 13th of January, *Diary*, 6. But, she appears to have only reached Callendar, on the 13th : For, there is in the Privy

But, unluckily for Darnley, who never had had the small-pox, and was not very famous for concerting his measures, he went into Glasgow, where that infectious disease at that time raged; and he immediately took the infection: It was, instantly, given out, by faction, that he had been poisoned, and by that greatest of liars, Buchanan, that he had been poisoned, by his own wife, the Queen.ⁿ If you ask him

Seal Register, a grant by her, at Callendar, on the 14th of January, and two more by her, at Edinburgh, on the same day. Accuracy of dates is always of importance; but, at this moment, of particular interest.

ⁿ Buchanan asserted, both in his *Detection*, and his *History*, over, and over again, that the Queen being disappointed, in her object, of a divorce, resolved to destroy her husband, and caused him to be poisoned, when he was about to depart, from Stirling to Glasgow; and he adds, “that the “Queen would not suffer a physician to come to him.” This last, assertion of falsehood, evinces, that Buchanan related a falsehood, though he knew the truth. This falsehood is repeated in the *History of K. James*, p. 8 and 9; by Knox, 401; and by Spottiswoode, 197, who re-echoes a thousand of Buchanan’s lies. Here is an authority, which shall suppress that calunny, for ever. The Earl of Bedford, who set out, from Edinburgh, for Berwick, on the 6th of January 1566-7, wrote to Cecil, on the 9th: “The King is now, at Glasgow, with his father; and there lieth full of the *small pokes*; to whom the Queen hath sent her physician. [An original letter in the Paper Office.] Against such a document, as this letter, from Bedford, to Cecil, Robertson mus-

for proofs of his assertion, he will be found to have none: He can rail, but, he can prove nothing: He was hired, by Murray, and Cecil, to calumniate, strongly, in the hope, that a credulous people would believe some of his scandal.

The moment was full of peril, both to Darnley, and the Queen. It was given out, that the King, with the aid of some of the nobles, who were ready, as we have seen, for any villainy, intended, to crown his infant son, and assume the government. It was reported, that the King could not bear some of the nobles, who attended the court; so that he, or they, must

ters his Buchanans, and Knoxes, in vain. Even artless Birrel would put them down; who says, in his *Diary*, 21st January, 1566-7: "The Queen, and prince, came to Edinburgh out of Stirling, at which time, King Henry was lyand sicke, in Glasgow, of the small poks; but, some sayed, he had gotten poyson." To quash this calumny for ever, I will subjoin what Sir Wm. Drury wrote to Secretary Cecil, from Berwick, on the 23d of January 1566-7: "My lord Darnley lieth sick, at Glasgow, of the small pocks, which disease beginneth to spread thence: Unto whom, I hear, the Queen intendeth to go, and bring him away, as soon as he can bear the cold air." [His letter is in the Paper Office.] We thus perceive, then, that the two contemporary writers, Cousin, and Blackwood, were well informed, when they said, that Darnley was taken with the *small pox*, at Glasgow. [Jebb, ii. 59.]

leave it : And what was of most importance, because it showed the true object of all those rumours, “ that Darnley should be put in ward.” After enquiring, in her Privy Council, into the real foundation of all those disquieting reports, the Queen wrote to her ambassador, at Paris, that his servants were the chief spreaders of those troublous rumours.^o The Archbishop of Glasgow, in answer to the Queen’s interesting dispatch, relinquished his garrulous servants to the correction of justice. But, that vigilant prelate, by his letter, to his mistress, of the 27th of January 1566-7, informed her, that the Spanish Ambassador had desired him, to warn the Queen of some secret attempt, which was

^o The Queen’s letter was dated the 20th of January 1566-7 : “ As for the King, our husband,” said she, “ God “ knows always our part towards him ; and his behaviour, “ and thankfulness to us, are equally well known to God, “ and the world.” The whole letter is full of feeling, and tenderness, which may be seen, in Keith’s *Pref.* viii. Robertson, by concealing the Queen’s motives, for writing that letter, finds in it much bitterness of expression, and enmity of purpose, by the Queen, against her husband ; and gives a calumnious cast to the mere effusions of sorrow, for the ill-requited favours, which had been bestowed on unworthy objects : The Queen felt, on that occasion, that sharper than the serpent’s teeth are benefits forgot.

ready to be made, at Edinburgh, and conjured her, to double her guards.^p

Meantime, both the Queen, and Darnley, derived considerable benefits, from the presence of her physician, with her diseased husband : She was, from time to time, informed of the state of his complaint, and the effects of it on his temper : And Darnley's spirit of haughtiness, and habit of obstinacy, being both worn down, by his infirmities ; the physician took advantage of this amendment, to advise him, to make some concessions to the Queen ; and to desire to see his wife : All the concessions, which she could desire of him, merely, were, that he would live with her, as a husband ought to do, and partake of the government, as an equal, rather than a superior, who aimed at exclusion. Whatever, then, may be in those intimations, it is a fact, which cannot be, reasonably, doubted, that the Queen, and Darnley, were reconciled to each other, before she set out, for Glasgow, to bring him to Edinburgh.^q

^p See that interesting Dispatch of the Scottish Ambassador, in Keith's *Pref.* ix. which evinces, that the conspiracy, against Darnley, and the Queen, had not been kept quite a secret, even on the continent, though the Queen knew nothing of it, in Scotland.

^q Bishop Lesley, who knew the Queen's secrets, assures

Robertson, relying on a lying journal, makes the Queen set out, from Edinburgh, for Glasgow, on the 21st of January 1566-7 : But, two several records, the Privy Seal Register, and the Register of Signatures, clearly, evince, that she did not set out till the 24th of January, after dinner, if then : And she would reach Glasgow sometime, on the morrow, the 25th of January. She, probably, left Glasgow, with Darnley on the 27th ; so as to arrive, at Linlithgow, on the 28th of January ; as we know from the Privy Seal Record : And, they reached Edinburgh, on the 31st ;^{*} when the King took his lodging at *the Kirk of Field*, in the house of Robert Balfour, the Provost of the Collegiate Church, which had been fitted up, for the

us, “ that Mary hearing that her husband was repentant,
 “ and desired her presence, without delay, hasted with such
 “ speed as she conveniently might, to visit him, at Glasgow.”

[*Defence*, 1569, p. 7.] The French Envoy, Clernault, a witness beyond exception, asserts the same fact of her reconciliation. [See the *App.* No. iii. to the *Mem. of Calumnies*.] On the other hand, Robertson quotes Mary's letter before mentioned of the 20th of January 1566-7, as a proof of her resentment of her husband's injuries, at the same epoch. But, though a married man, he knows little of the *philosophy* of married women : He does not know how soon the quarrels of husband and wife are made up.

—^{*} Birrel's *Diary*, 6.

King's reception, as an hospital, under the advice of the Queen's physician. Unacquainted with the great fact, of there being a conspiracy of nobles against Darnley, and the Queen, who perpetrated the King's murder, Robertson formed a narrative of those transactions, leading to the ruin of both, which is egregiously erroneous. He inclines to believe, that Darnley was poisoned, rather than taken ill of an infectious disease, which then prevailed in Glasgow. He did not know of the letters of Bedford, and Drury, on this subject, which establish the fact; much less did he know, that the Queen had sent her own physician to attend her husband: He relies too much on such writers, as Knox, and Buchanan; and he preferred the information of a fictitious journal to the certainty, which publick records, always, supply: He set at nought the information of Bishop Lesley, and other documents, concerning the Queen's reconciliation to her husband; because the Queen gave vent to her sorrow, in her private communications with the Archbishop, her Ambassador: He even supposes, contrary to evidence, that the Queen allowed herself to be directed, by the ascendancy of Bothwell, when she was chiefly, influenced, by Murray.* Yes; Bothwell appeared in ignorant

* The misrepresentations of Robertson arose, from his

eyes, to possess a great sway, when he was supported, by the strength of Murray, of Maitland, and of Morton : when they withdrew their support, Bothwell soon found, that he could not support himself, even with the Queen's influence after their enforced marriage.

Darnley, being lodged in the *Provost's house* of *Kirk-a-field*, received every attendance, from the physician, and every attention, from the Queen : She often visited him, and sometimes slept in the room below the King's chamber. She even passed the Sunday evening, which preceded the morning of his murder, with her

being only a half-informed writer, who relied on bad authorities, when he might have obtained the best. Speaking of the ascendancy of Bothwell, over Mary, in the pardon of Morton, he says, " Mary, who had hitherto remained inexorable to every intreaty on their behalf, yielded at last to the solicitations of Bothwell." For this misrepresentation, he quotes Paris's Confession, in Goodall, i. 140 ; and Melvill, 154, who says, absurdly, " that Bothwell ruled all at court, having brought home the banished lords, and packed up a quiet friendship, with the Earl of Morton : " But, Melvill himself knew, that it was the Earls of Bedford, and Murray, who were the chief agents, in soliciting the pardon of Morton, and his associates : Above all the solicitations, owing to Cecil, and Elizabeth's interposition. Robertson never saw the letters of Bedford to Cecil of the 30th of December, and the 9th of January, which have been already quoted, and are quite decisive, on this head.

husband ; entertaining him very familiarly, till she departed to give the mask in the Abbey, to Bastian, who was married the same night : and she even took a ring from her finger, which she put upon the King's, as an appropriate emblem of their renewed affections.* None but those wives, who stand recorded, for their barbarity and wickedness, could have given their husbands such pledges of their fidelity, and affection ; knowing that they were to be put to death, soon after such tender gifts. Oh ! 'tis a dreadful interval of time ! On the morrow, about two o'clock, the conspirators entered the house, where the King lay, with Taylor, the groom of his chamber, and strangled both, whom they carried into the adjoining garden, while the assassins blew up *the Provost's house, wherein he lay*. This explosion, which was, no doubt, intended, by the conspirators, to cover their deed, with mystery, alarmed equally the town, and court. Thus died, saith Keith, in a barbarous, and wicked manner, Lord Darnley, the King of Scots, in the 21st year of his age, and only two years, after his arrival in Scotland. But who did that barbarous deed ? The great men, who were convicted of the fact : Bothwell,

* See Nelson's *Deposition*, who was present. Goodall, ii. 243-5.

Maitland, and Morton, with their agents. Why was there so much mystery, at court? The Lord High Admiral, the Secretary of State, the minion Murray, and his adherent Morton, were the conspirators. Why was there so much mystery to their usual protector, Cecil? They durst not communicate such a secret, as the King's murder. Robertson could not comprehend, that Bothwell acted, as the *cat's-paw* of the conspirators: Did not the same conspirators make a *cat's-paw* of the King, at the murder of Rizzio? Yes: Were not the Lord Chancellor, Morton, the Secretary of State, Maitland, and Murray, the minion, the chief conspirators, who assassinated Rizzio? Yes: Did the Queen know any thing of Rizzio's murder, which endangered her own life? No: Did the Queen know any thing of Darnley's murder, which involved her own ruin? No: The great murderers, with Bothwell, as *their instrument*, thus accomplished one of the great objects of their conspiracy: and nothing remained to be done, but to acquit *their guilty tool*, by a delusive trial; to marry him to the Queen, as his reward; and then, to dethrone the Queen, and expel Bothwell, as *their scape-goat*.

Now Darnley was decently buried, in the abbey church of Holyrood-house, by the side of James V. On that sad occasion, the Queen retired, from

the melancholy scene, to the Castle of Edinburgh, where, with shut windows, she gave vent to her sorrow.

The chief conspirators at length issued a proclamation, on the 12th of February ; offering a reward of £2000. for discovering the perpetrators of this villainy. On the 16th of February placards were set up on the publick places, accusing Bothwell, and other persons, of the crime. Darnley was embowelled, and embalmed, and was decently interred, on the 15th of February, in the Abbey Church, by the side of the Queen's father.^a It was objected, by the miscreants, who had murdered the King, that the burial of the King was too private, and the mourning of the Queen too short. Bishop Lesley answered this objection, in this manner : “ Was not his body embalmed, en-seared, and interred, beside the Queen's father,

^a Fortunately, for the interests of truth, the Treasurer's accounts of that period have not all been mislaid, or lost : On the 12th of February 1566-7, there is the following charge, by the Queen's special command. “ To Martene Pitcanit *ypothegar*, to mak furnishing of *droggis, spicis*, and other necessaris, *for oppinyng, and perfuming of the kingis grace majesteis umqle. bodie* - - - £40 0 0
Item : For Colis, tubbís, hardis, barrellis, and utheris necessaris, preparit, for boweling of the kingis grace - - - 2 6 0

the late King James, accompanied with the Justice Clerk, the Lord of Traquaire, and with divers other gentlemen? The ceremonies, indeed, were the fewer ; because that the greatest part of the Council were Protestants, who had before enterred their own parents, without accustomed solemnities : Neither is there any such order, or custom, as is pretended, for the reservation of the corps forty days, nor any such observation was used about the corps of the very father of the prince, neither yet was there any such order taken, by the Council, for the enterring of the said Lord Darnley, but even directly to the contrary.”^x

The application of the bowstring to the neck of Darnley was not such a blow, as was given to the widowed Queen, when she heard, that such an end had finished the career of her wayward husband. She had been just reconciled to him, after a long estrangement, and she hoped, to have enjoyed some years with him, in conjugal happiness, when that stroke of conspiracy closed the future prospects of her diversified life. She long, and sorely, bemoaned

^x Lesley's *Defence*, 1569, p. 13-14. On the 23d of March, there was a solemn Saulemass, with a dirge, done, in the Chapel royal of Holyrood-house, for the said Henry Steuart, at her majesty's command. [Birrel's *Diary*, 7.]

her husband, even to the loss of her health, as we are told, by her faithful adherent.^y On the 18th of February, the Queen, in consequence of the advice of her physician, and the exhortations of her Council, retired from Edinburgh-castle to Seton, the agreeable seat of Lord Seton. The change of air, and the exercise of riding, somewhat composed her harassed spirits. Yet, here was her privacy invaded, and her griefs renewed, by a correspondence with the Earl of Lennox, who was himself not free from blame : yet, he now pressed, for en-

^y Lesley's *Defence*, 1569, p. 14. And though not required, by any law, or usage ; yet, says he, did this gentle lady bemoan even such a notable time, enjoinge and using none other than candlelight, as was known to all the nobility of Scotland, and also to one Mr. Henry Kylligrew, who was sent thither, by the Queen of England, to her comfort, according to the manner of princes ; [See Kylligrew's letter, *Mem. i. App. No. v.*] She had a longer time continued in this lamenting wise, had she not been most earnestly dehorted from her longer continuing thereof, by the vehement persuasions of her Council, who were moved therto, by her physicians informations ; declaring to them the imminent dangers of health, and life, if she did not, in all speed, break up, and leave that close, and solitary life ; and repair to some good, open, and wholesome air ; which she did, being thus advised, and earnestly solicited, by her said Council, &c. Thus far Bishop Lesley, who thus gives us, a very curious trait of the manners of such a Queen, in such circumstances.

quiry, and asked, for justice, against those, who had deprived him of his son, by a mysterious murder. The Queen's letters to Lennox, evince her innocence of crime, and desire of right :^z But, if Elizabeth was often baffled, by the artifices of Cecil, what could the milder spirit of Mary enforce, when Murray, her chief adviser, was the principal conspirator, Maitland, her Secretary, who sustained the burden of foresight, was the planner of the conspiracy, and Morton, the most audacious of miscreants, approved its end, and promoted its execution, and Bothwell, the profligate, acted, as the instrument of the conspirators? She could do but little : And, after awhile, when the publick voice began to be somewhat heard, they appointed a day, for the trial of Bothwell ; knowing that they could readily circumvent, and easily baffle, a stronger accuser, than Lennox, when they wished to protect their coadjutor, in crime, with the predetermined purpose of dispatching Darnley, and dethroning the Queen.

By the murder of Darnley, the first march of the conspiracy had only been made : The acquittal of Bothwell was the second step of the career of conspiracy : the marrying of

^z See those letters, in Keith, 369-73.

the conspirator to the widowed Queen, was the third, but important point, in their plot : And the dethronement of the Queen, after her fortune, and her fame, had been mingled, by her enforced marriage, with the infamy, and fate of Bothwell, was achieved, by the fraud, and force, of those audacious plotters, who cast their own guilt upon the Queen's innocence : And, the final end of the whole plan, after such a marriage, which was accomplished, by so many crimes of the same conspirators, was accomplished, by coercing the imprisoned Queen, to resign her sceptre to the chief comploter, her bastard brother, whose insatiable ambition was to be satisfied, by any means, by any wickedness. The assassination of Darnley was owing to his own waywardness, and persevering folly, which, however, his wife might bear, an unscrupulous, and unprincipled faction would no longer suffer : And his murder, by that faction, as the State Papers, and the Statute Book, evince, must give a new cast to the whole history of Scotland, during that profligate age.

SUBSIDIARY DOCUMENTS.

No. I.—*Of Lord Darnley's Education, of his, and his Father's Views, on the Queen, and on the Hamiltons.*

HE appears to have received his juvenile education, at his father's house, under a private tutor : and to have imbibed from such a source, all the puerile, and pettish habits of such a school. We first see him in publick, at Elizabeth's court, a *tall lad* of 19 : And he soon after arrived, in Scotland, with all his prejudices, and weaknesses about him, in February 1564-5, when he was scarcely 20 years of age ; He was married to the Queen on the 29th of July 1565, according to the ancient form, in the Chapel of Holyrood-house.

The Queen, who was highly educated herself, was very sensible of Darnley's defects, and endeavoured to amend his imperfections.^a But, he was too self-sufficient

^a From Randolph's Dispatches to Cecil, it appears, that the Queen took much pains, to improve Darnley's mind, to smooth his temper, and to inspire him with the manners of a man, and the address of a courtier. Sir James Melvill, who had seen much of the world, at the court of France, informs us [*Mem.* 58.] that soon after their marriage, the Queen desired him to wait upon the King, and to give him good counsel, which might help him, to avoid many difficulties. But, he had not any *lords of the bed-chamber*, or grooms of the bed-chamber, or even gentlemen of the privy-chamber.

for instruction, and too irascible for social intercourse : He thus offended several of the nobles, who could not brook his petulance, though they had voted for his marriage, and supported the Queen's authority, when it was attacked, by domestick rebellion, and Elizabeth's intrigues : So that he seemed to verify Randolph's prediction, *that the Queen would have but a sorry life with him.*

Lennox, and Darney, for whom the Queen had already done so much, by the restoration of the first to his country, his titles, and estates ; and by creating the last, an earl, a duke, and a king, began in November, and December 1565, by pressing unreasonable demands, for unattainable objects, to harass the Queen's repose, and to distract her government. Two of those objects were intimately connected with each other ; 1st. The crown matrimonial, for Darnley ; and 2dly, the ruin of the family of Hamilton, the head of which [the Duke of Chattelherault] was, under an act of Parliament, the second person, in Scotland, and heir presumptive of the crown. Darnley, at his marriage, had obtained *the crown matrimonial*, when he was, by the Queen's authority, declared *King*, and as such to have his name placed with her's, in all publick proceedings.^b What further entered into his shallow contemplation, under such undefined terms, as *the crown matrimonial*, is not explained, in any of the dispatches, or writers of that age. But, the nature of the objects, which he was instructed, by artifice, to ask, was not in the Queen's power to give, if we may infer what his objects were, from the traitorous compacts,

^b Keith, 306-7.

which Darnley, and his father, entered into with certain conspirators, who, for their own interests, deluded Lennox, and Darnley, into "privy conspiracy and rebellion."^c From those documents, it is quite apparent, that he aimed at nothing less, than converting his nominal sovereignty, during the Queen's life, into a real sovereignty, during his own life: It was even stipulated, in those guilty papers, if the Queen should die, without issue, that the sovereignty should be continued, in Darnley, and his family, for ever, to the exclusion of the legal heirs, who were to be extirpated, if they should oppose, such a transfer of the crown, from themselves, to Darnley, and his family. This engagement, then, which was as illegal, as it was treasonable, reflects much light on the real meaning of the obscure objects, for which Darnley, and Lennox, were so clamorous, in the preceding months of November, December, and January; and evinces how much the ruin of the duke, and his family, was connected, with the interested demands, of Darnley, and Lennox.

The duke, and his family, were saved from ruin, by the Queen's attention to them; and she had loaded him, and his sons, since her return to Scotland, in August 1561, with favours, and benefits, for which she received, from them, very ungrateful returns.^d As the Queen knew, that the duke had been drawn into the rebellion, by the artifices of Murray, she was averse from proceeding to extremities against him, or his sons:^e She was even averse

^c See those treasonable documents in Goodall, i. 227-31-42.

^d Randolph's *Dispatches* 1561, 1562, in the Paper Office.

^e The Queen was even at pains to keep the duke, and his

from proceeding to extremities against the duke, or his sons, and refrained from giving away any of his forfeited property, or disposing of his son's benefices.^f After the duke had retired to Newcastle, in October 1565, his guilty conscience so harassed his feeble mind, as to throw him on the bed of sickness; so as to induce Bedford to repair, from Berwick, to Newcastle; to comfort him.^g

family, out of Murray's rebellion: When she heard, that Murray had gained the duke to his purpose, she sent the *Justice Clerk*, on the 8th of May 1565, to warn him of the ruinous consequences of his joining Murray; and to give him an ample assurance, for his extensive possessions, if he continued loyal to her, and to himself. The duke was satisfied with the Queen's assurances; and signed a written engagement to support the Queen's marriage, with Darnley: But, Murray's artifices again prevailed over the duke's weakness; who was thus deluded to lend his name, his influence, and his many followers, to the traitorous purposes of Murray.

^f The whole of the duke's forfeited property was restored to him, on his pardon. *Privy Seal Reg.* xxxiv. 30. His second son, John, held, as commendator, the rich Abbey of Arbroath, which he had obtained, before he was of age; and his youngest son, Claud, held the deanery of Dunbar though he was then under age. *Ib.* 44. The Queen did not give away either of those benefices: But, in order to gratify Lennox's avarice, she granted him, in October 1565, *her own third* of the revenue of the abbey of Arbroath. *Ib.* xxxiii. 125: and she also granted him one half of the escheated property of the Earl of Glencairn. *Ib.* xxxiv. 65.

^g Bedford's Letters to Cecil, 29th October, and 1st November, in the Paper Office.

In November 1565, the duke sent Ormiston into Scotland, to solicit, from the offended Queen, a pardon for himself, and his sons, and their followers: But, the Queen's gracious purpose, in their favour, was disappointed, by *Darnley's opposition*: In December, the duke sent his cousin, Gawin Hamilton, the commendator of Kilwinning, to the Scottish court, for renewing his former instances: his solicitations were, constantly, traversed, by Darnley; yet, the Queen granted his requests: And in order to gratify her husband, and his father, she made it an essential condition of his pardon, that the duke, and his sons, David, and Claud, should live abroad, during five years.^h The Queen's beneficent, and merciful conduct to the duke, and his family, gave great offence to Darnley, and his father, the pitiful rival of the Hamiltons, who were not satisfied, by the expatriation of the hated family; as nothing could satisfy the King, and

^h Keith 320; *Ib. App.* 165-6. On the 2d of January 1565-6, the Queen granted a pardon to the duke, and his sons, and their followers, who were chiefly of the name of Hamilton: and in this remission, there are more than 250 friends of the house of Hamilton, specially, named, of whom, no fewer than 153 were of the surname of Hamilton, with the town of Hamilton. *Privy Seal Reg.* xxxiv. 29-31. It thus appears, that the duke carried into the late rebellion more followers, than all the other leaders. They had a license to depart, on the following day. *Id.* The Queen gave the duke a general letter to all princes, and potentates, to allow him to travel, and reside, for the benefit of his health. *Register of State Letters*, in the Register House.

his father, but the forfeiture, and the ruin of those, whom they envied, and hated.ⁱ

No. II.—*Proofs of Darnley's Misconduct; of the Queen's Innocence; and of the Guilt of the Conspirators, who murdered him, and ruined her.*

(1) A LETTER from the PRIVY COUNCIL of SCOTLAND, dated the 8th of October 1566, to the QUEEN MOTHER of FRANCE. [*From Keith, 347-50.*]

MADAM,

The great benefit this nation has always reap'd from the ancient confederacy, and mutual good understanding, between the two crowns of France and Scotland, emboldens us to transmit this narration to your majesty, tho' we are sorry at the same time to have any grounds of complaint against those, to whom we owe all dutiful obedience.

The respect we bear to the King, as being husband to the Queen, our sovereign, on whom she has been pleased to confer so much honour, and raise him to so high a degree of dignity, inclines us to speak of him, and of every thing, that relates to him, with much modesty, and would dispose us, joyfully, to pass over, in silence, the huge injury he does to himself, to the Queen's majesty, and of consequence to all of us here, if our concealing the same could have the influence to bury it in obscurity: but

ⁱ Keith, 329.

seeing that he himself is the very first person, who by his deportment will needs discover it to the world, we can do no less, both for satisfying the office we bear, and the duty we owe to the Queen, than to testify the things which we have both seen and heard, to all those who are allied to her majesty, especially to the King your son and your majesty's ownself, whom we look upon to be the principal supports of our sovereign and her crown; that by these you may have opportunity to perceive the great trouble, and vexation, the Queen, our sovereign, labours under at present, and the occasion of it. About ten or twelve days ago, the Queen at our request came to this town of Lisleburgh to give her orders about some affairs of state, which without her personal presence could not be got dispatched. Her majesty was desirous the King should have come along with her; but because he liked to remain at Stirling and wait her return thither, she left him there, with intention to go towards him again, in five or six days. Mean time, while the Queen was absent, the Earl of Lennox his father came to visit him, at Stirling; and having remained with him two or three days, he went his way again to Glasgow, the ordinary place of his abode. From Glasgow my Lord Lennox wrote to the Queen, and acquainted her majesty, that although formerly both by letters and messages, and now also by communication with his son, he had endeavoured to divert him from an enterprize he had in view, he nevertheless had not the interest to make him alter his mind. This project, he tells the Queen, was to retire out of the kingdom beyond sea; and for this purpose he had just then a ship lying ready. The Earl of Lennox's letter came to the Queen's hand on St.

Michael's day (29th September :) and her majesty was pleased to impart the same, incontinent, to the Lords of her Council, in order to receive advice there upon: And if her majesty was surprized by this advertisement from the Earl of Lennox; these Lords were no less astonished to understand that the King, who may justly esteem himself happy upon account of the honour the Queen has been pleased to confer upon him, and whose chief aim should be to render himself grateful for her bounty, and behave himself honourably and dutifully towards her, should entertain any thought of departing after so strange a manner out of her presence; nor was it possible for them to form a conjecture from whence such an imagination could take its rise: their lordships therefore took a resolution to talk with the King, that they might learn from himself the occasion of this hasty deliberation of his (if any such he had), and likewise that they might thereby be enable to advise her majesty after what manner she should comport herself in this conjuncture. The same evening the King came to Edinburgh, but made some difficulty to enter into the palace, by reason that three or four lords were at that time present with the Queen, and peremptorily insisted that they might be gone before he would condescend to come in; which deportment appeared to be abundantly unreasonable, since they were three of the greatest lords in the kingdom; and that those kings who by their own birth were sovereigns of the realm, have never acted in that manner towards the nobility. The Queen however received this behaviour as decently as was possible, and condescended so far as to meet the King without the palace, and so conducted him into her own apartment, where he re-

mained all night; and then her majesty entered calmly with him upon the subject of his going abroad, that she might understand from himself the occasion of such a resolution. But he would by no means give or acknowledge that he had any occasion offered him of discontent. The Lords of Council being acquainted early next morning that the King was just a going to return to Stirling, they repaired to the Queen's apartment; and no other person being present except their Lordships and Mons. Du Croc, whom they prayed to assist with them, as being here on the part of your majesty, the occasion of their meeting together was then with all humility and reverence due to their majesties, proposed; namely, to understand from the King, whether according to advice imparted to the Queen, by the Earl of Lennox, he had formed a resolution to depart by sea out of the realm, and upon what ground, and for what end? That if his resolution proceeded from discontent, they were earnest to know what persons had afforded an occasion for the same? that if he could complain of any of the subjects of the realm, be they of what quality soever, the fault should be immediately repaired to his satisfaction. And here we did demonstrate to him, that his own honour, the Queen's honour, the honour of us all, were concerned; for if without just occasion ministred, he would retire from the place he had received so much honour, and abandon the society of her to whom he is so far obliged, that in order to advance him she has humbled herself, and from being his sovereign had surrendered herself to be his wife: if he should act in this sort, the whole world would blame him as ingrate, regardless of the friendship the Queen bare him, and utterly un-

worthy to possess the place, to which she had exalted him. On the other hand, that if any just occasion had been given him, it behoved the same to be very important; since it inclined him to relinquish so beautiful a queen and noble realm; and the same must have been afforded him either by the queen herself, or by us her ministers. As for us, we professed ourselves ready to do him all the justice he could demand; and for her majesty, so far was she from ministring to him occasion of discontent, that on the contrary he had all the reason in the world to thank God for giving him so wise and virtuous a person, as she had showed herself in all her actions. Then her majesty was pleased to enter into the discourse, and spoke affectionately to him, beseeching him that seeing he would not open his mind in private to her the last night, according to her most earnest request, he would at least be pleased to declare before these lords, where she had offended him in any thing: she likewise said, that she had a clear conscience, that in all her life, she had done no action, which could anywise prejudice either his or her own honour; but nevertheless that as she might perhaps have given him offence without design, she was willing to make amends as far as he should require; and therefore prayed him not to dissemble the occasion of his displeasure if any he had, nor to spare her in the least matter. But tho' the queen and all others that were present, together with Mons. du Croc, used all the interest they were able, to perswade him to open his mind; yet he would not at all own that he intended any voyage, or had any discontent; and declared freely that the queen had given him no occasion for any: whereupon he took leave of her majesty, and went his way; so that we were all of opi-

nion that this was but false alarm the Earl of Lennox was willing to give her majesty. Nevertheless by a letter which the king has since wrote to the queen in a sort of a disguised stile, it appears that he still has it in his head to leave the kingdom, and there is advertisement otherwise that he is secretly preparing to begone:—of all which, and what passed betwixt their majesties and us, we could not fail to inform you; and to testify like as we do by these presents, that so far as things could come to our knowledge he has no ground of complaint; but on the contrary, that he has the very best of reason to look upon himself as one of the most fortunate princes in Christendom, could he but know his own happyness and make use of the good fortune which God has put into his hands. 'Tis true that in the letter he wrote the queen he grounds a complaint on two points: One is, that her majesty trusts him not with so much authority, nor is at such pains to advance him and make him be honoured in the nation, as she at first did: and the other point is, that nobody attends him, and that the nobility deserts his company. To those two points the queen has made answer, that if the case be so, he ought to blame himself, not her; for that in the beginning she had conferred so much honour upon him, as came afterwards to render herself very uneasy, the credit and reputation wherein she had placed him having served as a shadow to those who have most hainously offended her majesty: but howsoever, that she has notwithstanding this, continued to show him such respect, that altho' they who did perpetrate the murder of her faithful servant, had entred her chamber with his knowledge, having followed him close at the back, and had named him the chief of their enterprize: yet would she never accuse him there-

of, but did always excuse him, and was willing to appear, as if she believed it not: And then as to his being not attended, the fault thereof must be charged upon himself, since she has always made an offer to him of her own servants. And for the nobility, they come to court, and pay deference, and respect, according as they have any matters to do, and as they receive a kindly countenance: But that he is at no pains to gain them, and make himself beloved by them, having gone so far as to prohibite these noblemen to enter his room, who she had at first appointed to be about his person: if the nobility abandon him, his own deportment towards them is the cause thereof; for if he desires to be followed, and attended by them, he must in the first place make them to love him; and to this purpose, must render himself amiable to them: without which it will prove a most difficult task, for her majesty, to regulate this point, especially to make the nobility consent that he shall have the management of affairs put into his hands; because she finds them utterly averse to any such matter. And now your majesty will by this narrative be able to form a judgement, whether or no the reasons be well grounded, which the king alledges for the colouring over his projects. We were willing to lay them before you according to all the knowledge we have of them, most humbly beseeching your majesty, that if, in order to palliate his fault, any other persons shall happen to report any otherwise to you, than what we do write, your majesty may not trust any thing they shall contrive, in prejudice of the truth, and of our testimony. And thus, madam, we earnestly pray God may grant you health, and the accomplishment of all your desires. From Lisleburgh this 8th October 1566.

(2) A LETTER from Mons. LE CROC, the French Ambassador, in Scotland, to the Scottish Queen's Ambassador at Paris, dated the 15th of October 1566. [*From Keith 345-7.*]

MONSIEUR,

On the 22d day of the last month, your brother Mr. Bethune arrived, at Stirling, where he found this queen in good health, as likewise the prince, her son, who is a very fine child: and thrives so well that against the time of his cristening his God fathers will feel the weight of bearing him in their arms. They are lookt for about the end of this month. The queen is now returned from Stirling to Lisleburgh, as being vacation-season, which as you know, continues in this country from August until Martinmass, and during which the nobility are convened to look after the publick affairs of the queen, and her realm. The king however abode still at Stirling, and he told me there, he had a mind to go beyond sea in a sort of desperation. I said to him what I thought proper at the time, but still I could not believe he was in earnest. Since that time the Earl of Lennox his father came to visit him: and he has written a letter to the queen, signifying, that it is not in his power to divert his son, from his intended voyage; and prays her majesty to use her interest therein. This letter from the Earl of Lennox, the queen received on Michaelmass day in the morning: and that same evening the king arrived here about ten of the clock. When he, and the queen, were a bed together, her majesty took occasion to talk to him about the contents of his father's letter, and besought him to de-

clare to her the ground of his designed voyage: but in this he would by no means satisfy her. Early next morning the queen sent for me, and for all the Lords and other Counsellors: As we were all met in their majesties presence, the bishop of Ross (John Leslie) by the queen's commandment declared to the Council the king's intention to go beyond sea, for which purpose he had a ship lying ready to sail: and that her majesty's information hereof proceeded not from the rumour of the town, but from a letter written to her by his own father the Earl of Lennox: which letter was likewise read in the Council. And thereafter the queen prayed the king to declare, in presence of the lords, and before me, the reason of his projected departure: since he would not be pleased to notify the same to her in private betwixt themselves. She likewise took him by the hand, and besought him for God's sake to declare, if she had given him any occasion, for this resolution: and entreated he might deal plainly and not spare her. Moreover all the lords likewise said to him, that if there was any fault on their part, upon his declaring it, they were ready to reform it; and I likewise took the freedom to tell him, that his departure must certainly affect either his own or the queen's honour: That if the queen had afforded any ground for it, his declaring the same would affect her majesty: as on the other hand if he should go away without giving any cause for it, this thing could not at all redound to his praise: Therefore that since I was in this honourable employment, I could not fail, according to my charge, to give my testimony to the truth of what I had both formerly seen, and did presently see. After several things of this kind had passed amongst us, the king at

last declared that he had no ground at all given him for such a deliberation, and thereupon he went out of the Chamber of Presence, saying to the Queen, Adieu, madam, you shall not see my face, for a long space: After which he likewise bade me farewell: and next turning himself to the lords in general, said, Gentlemen adieu. He is not yet embarked, but we receive advertisement, from day to day, that he still holds on his resolution, and keeps a ship in readyness. 'Tis in vain to imagine, that he shall be able to raise any disturbance; for there is not one person in all this kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, that regards him any farther than is agreeable to the Queen. And I never saw her majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured: nor so great a harmony amongst all her subjects, as at present is, by her wise conduct; for I cannot perceive the smallest difference or division. I suppose your brother Mr. Bethune, Mr. Thornton, and other friends, write you so amply concerning all matters, that I need trouble you with no more. This Queen hath commanded me to write to her mother-in law (Queen-mother of France) touching the promise which the late King her father-in-law made be ratified to you by the late King her husband, and afterwards by the King now reigning. Mr. Thornton can inform you what I have wrote thereanent. And I beg you'll believe that I will as cheerfully perform any thing that concerns you, as you can desire me; for I am much beholden to you, both for the good offices you do me yourself, and for those I receive from your friends here; for all which I render you my most humble thanks. The Cardinal of Lorrain acquaints me, that I must remain here about the Queen two months longer than was in my commis-

sion, and assures me that money for the defraying of my charges shall be sent by my son, who is to come hither in the retinue of the Count de Briene. I wish it may be so; for in the meantime I lay out a great deal of money. Tho' still I be not able sufficiently to express the honour and bounty the Queen here shows me; for she often prays me to ask money from her or any other thing I stand in need of. All the Lords likewise open their purses to me, and testify a desire that I may not go away: however I am hopeful (please God) to return immediately after the baptism is over. You will be informed. Do write an account of all things they and I are daily witnesses of, to the King and Queen of (France) and the Cardinal of Lorraine. This is all I have to say at this time, except to recommend myself most humbly to your favour, in which I beseech you to allow me both to live and die. I pray God, Monsieur, to grant you long life and health. From Jedburgh this 15th of October 1566.

Your most humble and obedient servant,

LE CROC.

P.S. After I had finished this letter, the Queen resolved to delay her dispatch until she should be at this town of Jedburgh, and ordered me to follow her thither in five or six days; which I did. And during the five or six days that I continued at Lisleburgh, the King, who had gone to Glasgow, sent me word to meet him half way: I obeyed him, and found his father the Earl of Lennox with him. We had much communing together; and I remonstrated to him every thing that I could think of: and now I believe he will not go out of the kingdom: tho' I can perceive that he still entertains some displeasure. I came hither to Jedburgh, on pur-

pose to signify to the Queen what the King had spoken to me, and what I had said to him.

- (3) A LETTER from the Scottish Queen's Ambassador, at London, Mr. ROBERT MELVIL, dated the 22d of October 1566, to the same Queen's Ambassador at Paris. [*From Keith*, 350-1.]

Efter my humil commendatioun and service unto your lordschip I have bien in this countre this aught dayis past, and wauld have bien glad to have advertist your lordschip as weil of the estait heir as of our awin countre : and the lak (want) of suir bearirs hes impedit the same : First for our awin affaires, I will impairt to your lordschip quhilk I am sorry of : The Quene our soverane wes in some displeisure at my department upoun evil behaviour of the Kingis pairt, who wes of mynd to depairt out of the realme, and no occasion gevin him be hir majestie, as the hole counsale can record : nether will he declair quhairin his discontentment is, bot in general that he is not regardit with the nobilite as he sould be, nether can obtene sic thingis as he sickes, to witt sic personis as the Secretary (Lethington) the Justice Clerk, and Clerk of Register, to be putt out of thair office : Alledging thay sould be guilty of the last odious fact quhair of the Quenis majestie hath takin tryal, and findis thame not giltie thairin : with dyvers eithir thingis not worth the rehearsal : Sens my depairture, I heir he is stayit, bot hes not sens come neir the Quene. Hir majestie in Jedward presentlie and remanis fifteen dayis langar, gif the goeing of the commissionaris for the cristening of the prince do not haist hir majestie. Th' Erle Bodwell having an occasion to ryd in Liddisdail be-

foir, to bring in sum of the Eliotes, wes hurt be one of thame; bot he will recover. The circumstances, this berar can declair to your lordschip. The nobilitie wes in gude accord among thairselvis and the countre quyet.

For the estait of this realme. The Parliment sitts daily, and matter of importance passit at this present. I was directit from my soverane to knaw at the Quene heir, quhither it be hir mynd to move any thyng of the succession. At London, the 22d October.

Be your lordships to command at power and service

ROBERT MELVIL.

(4) LETTERS from the French Ambassador, LE CROC, to the Scotch Queen's Ambassador, at Paris, dated at Edinburgh, the 2d of December 1566. [*From Keith.*]

The Queen is for the present at Craigmillar, about a league distant from this city, she is in hands of the physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well; and I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in a deep grief and sorrow, nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same, still she repeats these words, I could wish to be dead. You know very well the injury she has received is very great, and her majesty will never forget it. The King her husband came to visit her at Jedburgh the very day after Captain Hay went away, he remained there but one single night; and yet in that short time I had a great deal of conversation with him, he returned to see the Queen five or six days ago: and the day before yesterday he sent word to desire me to speak with him half a league from this; which I complied with, and found that things go still worse and worse. I think he intends going away to-morrow; but in any

event I'm much assured as I always have been, that he won't be present at the baptism. To speak my mind freely to you (but I beg you not to disclose what I say in any place, that may turn to my prejudice) I do not expect upon several accounts any good understanding between them, unless God effectually put to his hand: I shall only name two: the first is, the King will never humble himself as he ought: the other is, she can't perceive any one nobleman speaking with the King but presently she suspects some contrivance amongst them: (The rest of this letter is concerning his appointments and personal concerns: and he only adds,) The Queen reckons to be going to Stirling five or six days hence, and the baptism is appointed to be on the 12th of this month.

From Stirling, 23d December 1566.

The baptism of the prince was performed Tuesday last, when he got the name of Charles James: it was the Queen's pleasure that he should bear the name of James, together with that of Charles (the King of France's name), because, said she, all the good Kings of Scotland his predecessors who have been most devoted to the crown of France, were called by the name of James. Every thing at this solemnity was done according to the form of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. The King (Lord Darnley) had still given out, that he would depart two days before the baptism; but when the time came on he made no sign of removing at all, only he still kept close within his own apartment. The very day of the baptism he sent three several times desiring me either to come and see him, or to appoint him an hour that he might come to me in my lodgings; so that I found myself

obliged at last to signify to him, that seeing he was in no good correspondence with the Queen, I had it in charge from the most Christian King to have no conference with him; and I caused tell him likewise, that as it would not be very proper for him to come to my lodgings, because there was such a crowd of company there, so he might know that there were two passages to it, and if he should enter by the one, I would be constrained to go out by the other. His bad deportment is incurable, nor can there be ever any good expected from him for several reasons, which I might tell you, was I present with you. I can't pretend to foretell how all may turn; but I will say that matters can't subsist long as they are without being accompanied with sundry bad consequences. (This is all he says concerning the King.) He next gives an account of his being obliged to supply the place of the Ambassador of Savoy, who was not yet arrived, and speaks of his own personal concerns only; (and then adds,) 'The Queen behaved admirably well all the time of the baptism; and showed so much earnestness to entertain all the goodly company in the best manner, that this made her forget in a good measure her former ailments. But I am of the mind however, that she will give us some trouble as yet; nor can I be brought to think otherwise, so long as she continues to be so pensive and melancholy. She sent for me yesterday, and I found her laid on the bed weeping sore; and she complained of a grievous pain in her side, and from a surcharge of evils, it chanced that the day her majesty set out from Edinburgh for this place, she hurt one of her breasts on the horse, which she told me is now swelled. I am much grieved for the many troubles and vexations she meets with. From Stirling this 23d of December, 1566.

(5) The four foregoing letters, which are instructive in themselves, exhibit, with sufficient distinctness, the real grounds of the conspiracy, which had for its odious ends, the murder of Darnley, and the dethronement of the Queen.

'That Darnley was murdered, by a conspiracy of nobles, which had the Earl of Murray for its head, and Queen Elizabeth, for its protector, has been already demonstrated, by the State Papers, and the Statute Book.

At the 1st of October 1566, there was but one faction in Scotland, which had Murray for its chief, and had Elizabeth for its protector: So that Murray's faction, and Elizabeth's faction were identified. This party was all-powerful, comprehending as it did, all the leading men, in Scotland, for abilities and vigour, with the officers of state; and considering, that it was a faction, without religion, or morals, without honour, or scruples. To that faction, the Earl of Bothwell had always been opposed, and by that faction had been persecuted: But, he was at that epoch gained over to it by Murray, who, in his answer to Huntley and Argyle, acknowledged the fact of his reconciliation with Bothwell. Such a conspiracy, for the King's murder, and the Queen's dethronement, would not have existed, for a day, if Murray had not been its chief, and had not aided, in the execution of it, though he did not, openly, appear till the Queen was dethroned, and he had been appointed regent.

The leading conspirators first appeared, in the treasonous act of concerting the murder of Darnley, about the 20th of January 1566-7, at Whittingham, upon the return of Morton, from England, after his pardon, for the assassination of Rizzio. At that epoch, Secretary Maitland, who had, in confidence with Murray, commu-

nicated to the expatriated Morton, the rise, and progress, of the plot against the King, and Queen, met Morton, at Whittingham, with the Earl of Bothwell, in his company, who had been engaged to be the principal assassin, upon stipulations, from the chief conspirators, of being saved harmless, and of having the Queen, in marriage, as his reward. The State Papers prove, what indeed is acknowledged, the meeting of those three conspirators, at Whittingham, as well as the object of their meeting, which was avowed to be the concerting of Darnley's murder. The Statute book evinces, that those three conspirators, Morton, Maitland, and Bothwell, were actually convicted, and punished, for the murder of Darnley. The record of their several convictions is the *Acta Parliamentorum*, Vol. iii. The concert, and convictions of those three conspirators would demonstrate the innocence of the Queen; if her ruin had not been one of the great objects of the conspiracy, for placing Murray, in the vice regal chair.

The whole detail of this shocking conspiracy, as the facts came out, successively, evince (1) that Bothwell, in performing his part, acted, wholly, in concert with the conspirators, but not with the Queen; (2) that he had been promised, by them, indemnity, and reward; (3) that they did save him harmless, when he was prosecuted, for Darnley's murder; (4) that they did obtain declarations, in his favour, which incited him, to arrest the Queen's person, to carry her by force to his Castle of Dunbar, and therein to enforce her consent to marry him. The act, attainting him of treason, for those deeds, demonstrates his guilt, and her innocence, who could incur no guilt, from an enforced marriage. See the Statute, in the same *Acta Parliamentorum*. See many proofs of all those points, in the first section of this volume, with the Subsidiary Documents annexed.

Yet, are there those, who ask, if Murray had any concernment, in this great, and guilty, conspiracy? Such persons would do well to recollect, that there are no accessories, in treason, and no half-guilty complotters.

Born to nothing, and ambitious of every thing, Murray was by education, by habit, and profession, a plotter. He was, at the head of this faction, as early as 1552. In 1560, he became Elizabeth's agent, in Scotland; and having no moral character, while he affected much religion, he concurred with Secretary Cecil, in imposing upon his country the spurious treaty of Edinburgh, in that year. He thus early began, if not earlier, to aim, at the Queen's sceptre. He had the baseness, in the subsequent year, to advise the English government, to intercept the Queen's return, that he might enjoy her kingdom. He opposed the Queen's marriage with Darnley; in order to prevent any legitimate issue; and to gratify Elizabeth's guilty passions. On that occasion, Murray entered into a plot, for seizing the Queen, and Darnley, at the Kirk of Beath. In order to prevent his forfeiture, he engaged in the abominable conspiracy, for assassinating Rizzio, in the Queen's presence. And yet, is it asked, whether he partook of the plot, for the murder of Darnley, and the dethronement of the Queen. Yes; he entered, with ardour, into the conspiracy, at its commencement. He was present, in Craigmillar-castle, when the plot was finally settled, and detailed, after the Queen had refused to be divorced. But, according to his usual policy, he skulked, when, by his associates, the murder was to be committed. He afterwards, cherished Bothwell, knowing that, he was the most ostensible, though not the most guilty murderer. When the Queen, in the progress of the plot, was to be dethroned, by his complotters, he retired, from

Edinburgh, to London, and to Paris: And, by the way, he communicated to Cecil the detail of what remained to be done; as we know from documents. His associates, in Scotland, constantly corresponded with him, during his absence, by means of Cecil; as we learn from the *Cabala*. And he, finally, received the sceptre, not from the imprisoned Queen, who was constrained, to sign papers, which she never read; but, from the conspirators, who dethroned her, at the head of whom, was Morton, the convicted murderer of Darnley. The whole of those treasonous transactions were done, by his faction, for his behoof; and, of course, he partook of their guilty acts.



London: Printed by W. Bulmer and W. Nicol,
Cleveland Row, St. James's.



Chalmers, George,

The life of Mary, Queen of Scots drawn from the State Papers with
subsidiary memoirs ; illustrated with plates of medals, portraits and
prospects ; in three volumes
Bd.: 2

London 1822

Brit. 110 b-2

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10279003-1